



M.V.A. ANTONINVS IMPERATOR. &c.

London Printed for R. Sare 1701.



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THE
EMPEROR
Marcus Antoninus
HIS
CONVERSATION
With Himself.

TOGETHER
With the Preliminary DISCOURSE of the
Learned GATAKER.

As also,

The Emperor's LIFE, Written by Monsieur D'acier,
and Supported by the Authorities Collected by
Dr. STANHOPE.

To which is added the Mythological Picture of
CÉRÈS the Theban, &c.

Translated into *English* from the Respective Originals.

By JEREMY COLLIER, M. A.

The Second Edition Corrected.

L O N D O N :

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EMERGENCY
STANDARD

CONVENTION



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THE PREFACE.

THE *Emperour's Life, and Gataker's Introductory Discourse being annex'd, there's no Necessity for a long Preface: For there the Reader will find an Account of the Author both as to Principles and Person; However, a Word or two of each may not be amiss.*

1st. As to the Stoicks notwithstanding their Advantage of other Sects; They were not without their Mistakes. For Instance; They believ'd a Plurality of Gods, that the Soul was a part of the Deity, and that their Wise Man might dispose of himself, and make his Life as short as he pleas'd. These with some other less material Errors, I have mark'd in the Margin.

'Tis true, 'tis objected against the Stoicks that they allow'd no Degrees in ill Practice, but made all Faults equal; that they held Compassion an Infirmary, and would not suffer it in the Character of an improv'd Philosopher; that the Happiness of a Wise Man
A 3 *depend-*

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depended purely upon himself, and that there was no Necessity of addressing a Superiour Being.

To answer this Charge Monsieur D'acier observes, that Zeno's Opinion (the Founder of the Sect,) was Fair, and Defensible in these Points: That he was misunderstood by some of his Scholars, and unreasonably strain'd up to the Letter. But there's no need to insist any farther upon Justifying, for I don't remember our Author is at all concern'd in this Matter.

To proceed therefore to the Emperour with reference to his Book.

His Thoughts then are Noble, and Uncommon, and his Logick very true and exact. He generally flies his Game home, seldom leaves his Argument till he brings it to a Demonstration, and has pursued it to its first Principles. Seneca, has a different manner, and moves more by start and sally: He flashes a Hint in your Face and disappears; And leaves you to carry on the Reasoning, and master the Subject, as well as you can. This looks like an Apparition of Philosophy, and is sometimes more Surprizing than Instructive. (But this Remark has no reference to the excellent English Abstract which is differently managed from the Original.) But as for the Emperor he charges thorough and thorough, and no Difficulty can stand before him.

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him. His Reason is no less irresistible than his Arms, and he loves to Conquer in his Closet, as well as in the Field. There's a peculiar Air of Greatness and Gravity in his Discourses: He seems to think up to his Station, and writes with that Magnificence of Notion; as if he believ'd himself oblig'd to exceed other Authors, as much in the Vigour of his Mind, as in the Lustre of his Fortune.

He appears to have thought to the bottom of his Argument, and to have had a Comprehensive View of the World, of the Interest and Relations of Society. Hence it is that his Morality is so particularly Serviceable and Convincing, that his Sentences are so Weighty, and his Reasoning so very just. By thus digging to the Foundation, He's in a Condition to assign every thing it's true Grounds, and set every Duty upon its proper Basis. Farther, the great Probity of this Prince, his Fortitude, and the Nobleness of his Mind, gave Freedom and Spirit to his Thoughts, and made him exert for the Service of Principle and Truth. Besides, he seems to have been born with a Prerogative of Nature, bless'd with a superiour Genius, and made up of richer Materials for Sense and Virtue, than other People. These Advantages, together with an improv'd Education, rais'd him to that Pitch of Majesty, and Distinction, and made his Pen almost equal to his Scepter.

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How does he despise the Pursuits of Fame, and the glittering Objects of Ambition? And that in no empty Rhodomontades, and Tumour of Expression: No, he pulls off the Paint, discovers the inward Coarseness, and brings such Evidence of the Insignificancy of these things, that he perfectly commands the Reader's Assent, and forces him into his own Opinion. Now an Emperour's Argument against a Fondness for Pleasure, or Power, comes better Recommended than from a private Philosopher: For in this Case a Man speaks from Experiment, and disputes against the Privilege of his Condition: Here the usual Pretence of Envy, or Ignorance is out of Doors; And nothing but Dint of Reason could drive him upon so unacceptable a Conclusion.

The Generosity of his Principles are no less remarkable. He shews the Iniquity of a selfish Temper; that Ill Nature is a Contradiction to the Laws of Providence and the Interest of Mankind; A Punishment no less than a Fault, to those that have it. All the great Offices of Humanity, Justice, and Acquiescence are enforced with unusual Advantage: His Turns of Reason being often as surprizing for their Strength, as for their Novelty. In short; Abating for some of the Errors above-mention'd, he seems to have drawn up an Admirable Scheme of Natural Reli-

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Religion. And which is still more commendable, he practis'd his Maxims upon himself, and made his Life a Transcript of his Doctrine. He was so great a lover of Truth and clear Dealing, that he would rather have lost his Empire than strain'd a Principle. Indeed Falshood and Legerdemain sink the Character of a Prince, and make him look like a Royal Jugler: Publick Character, and Common Good, as they call it, are no sufficient Defence in such Cases. Sixtus the Fifth, who must be allow'd a great Man, us'd to say, That 'twas short Thinking which made Conscience Impracticable, and Politicks fall foul upon Morals: That if Statesmen were well Qualified, and work'd their Heads, there would be no Occasion for Latitude, and Insincerity. Reason without doubt, well manag'd, would fence against Inconvenience much better than Craft: In earnest, 'twould be a very hard Case, and a great Reflection upon Providence, if Men could not be happy without breaking their Faith, and blemishing their Honour. However, to say nothing more, some People are too Lazy to be Honest. But this Custom apart, there's no Necessity to make Reasons of State, incompatible with the Laws of Justice; our Emperour is a noble Instance to the contrary. For never were the Functions of Peace and War better perform'd, the Subject more Easy, and the Empire more Flourishing than

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than under this Prince : and yet 'twas none of his way to indulge his Politicks, and warp in the least from his Notions. 'Twas his constant Practise ; as well as his Rule, If 'tis not Just never do it ; If 'tis not Truth never speak it.

As to the Emperour's way of Writing, if any one Objects against his sometimes coming over again with the same Thing, he may please to consider that this Prince did not take Philosophy for meer Diversion, and Amusement : Instruction was his main Design ; Upon this View 'twas not improper to repeat the stroak, to make the Impression go deeper. The Prejudices the Emperour disputes against are inveterate, and not to be remov'd without Difficulty : And if one Dose won't cure the Patient, why should not the Bill be made up again ? If this Rule holds in Medicine, why not in Morality ? Are not Peoples Understandings as valuable as their Health ? And is not a Disease in the Passions much worse than one in the Constitution ? And after all, when the Matter is closely examin'd, the Ground of the Objection will in a great measure, vanish. For when the Emperour does come over with an old Thing, 'tis his Custom to improve upon't. He Repeats, but 'tis for Advantage to the Argument, and his latter Thoughts, are generally Supplemental to the former. He either extends the No-
tion,

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tion, or reinforces the Proof, or gives a new Turn of Strength, and Beauty to the Expression. And thus the Reader is always a gainer by the bargain.

In Translating the Author I have made use of the quarto Edition publish'd in 1697. In which besides Gataker's Annotations, I had the Assistance of Monsieur D'acier's Remarks, turn'd into Latin by Dr. Stanhope. As for his French Translation, I never saw it till sometime after my own was finish'd, and part of it printed off: However, one thing I shall observe, and which is the only use I have made of Monsieur D'acier's Translation: 'Tis his Remark upon Sect. VI. Book I. where citing Pollux, he tells us, that the Romans in imitation of the Greeks, us'd to fight Quails for Divination, as well as Diversions; and had a Fancy their own Fortunes might be Prognosticated by the Success of the Battle. This piece of Superstition I confess was more than I was aware of, and yet by the Context, the Emperour seems to have had it in his View.

One Word more of the Emperour's Style and I have done: Now his way of expressing himself is extraordinarily Brief: His Words are sometimes over-burthen'd with Thought, and have almost more Sense than they can carry. Indeed, 'twas part of his Character to write in this Concise manner; for neither the
Em-

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Emperour, nor the Stoick would allow of any length of Expression. Besides, he wrote chiefly for himself, which makes him still more sparing in his Language: He sometimes draws in little, writes his Meaning, as it were in Short-hand, and does not beat out his Notions to their full Proportion. To which I may add, that sometimes the height of his Subject carries him almost out of Sight. For there is an obscurity in things, as well as in Language. For these Reasons 'tis no wonder if we find his Sense now and then a little perplex'd: And therefore where I was afraid the Reader might possibly be at a Loss, I have endeavour'd to direct him right by a Note in the Margin: I have likewise in some few Places ventur'd to throw in a Word or two, to make the Text more Intelligible. But when this Liberty was taken, I have been always careful to speak the Emperour's Mind, and keep close to the Meaning of the Original.

I

G A T A K E R's

Preliminary

DISCOURSE.

In which

The Principles of the Stoicks are compared with the Peripateticks, with the Old Academics, and more especially with the Epicurean Sect: The remaining Writings likewise of the Stoick Philosophers, Seneca, Epicetetus, and particularly those of our Emperor Marcus Antoninus, are briefly examined.

TIS the Opinion of several *Christian Writers* that the Principles of the *Stoicks* come nearer the Doctrines of the *Gospel*, than any other *Sect* of the *Antient Philosophers*. *Josephus* likewise who was a Pharisee by Persuasion, (which *St. Paul* calls the straitest *Sect* of the Jewish Religion *) affirms that the *Sect* of the Pharisees resembled that of the *Stoicks* among the *Greeks*: * And to come within the pale of the Church, *St. Hierom* is positive that the *Stoicks* agree with

* *Act. 26. 5.*
* *Joseph. in vita sua.*

the

the Tenents of Christianity in most Points.

³ In Esayam
Comment.
cap. 11.

And that they agree with us in many Things is past all Dispute, as will appear to any Person that will be at the pains to compare the *Moral Precepts* of the one *Persuasion* with those of the other. Indeed I think there's no Division of the *Pagan Philosophy* which reaches up to the *Stoicks*. To speak modestly, there's no *Sett* that I know of, that sets a greater value upon Virtue and Religion, drives the Notion higher, discovers more of good Earnest, and Bravery, presses the Practice with more Spirit and Argument, and promotes it with more warmth of Inclination.

To make this Truth more Evident, 'twill not be improper to compare the Philosophy of the *Stoicks*, with the most considerable pretensions of those of another Way; And here I shall wave the mention of *Pythagoras's* mystick, or rather magical *System*, ⁴ of which there are only some broken Remains come to our Hands: For the *Golden Verses*, which go under *Pythagoras's* Name, are of the same stamp with *Phocylides's* *Monitory*, both of them Forg'd and Counterfeit. And as for the Slovenlyness, Smut and lewd Practice of the *Cynicks*, 'they don't deserve the honour of a Competition; And here by the way, *Juvenal* was much mistaken in saying that the *Cynicks* differ'd from the *Stoicks* in nothing

⁴ See *Pythagoras's* Life written by *Laertius*, Lib. 8. and by *Jamblicus*, and in the Life of *Jamblicus*, by *Eu-napius*.

⁵ See *Dionysius*. Orat. 6. in *Diogen.* & *Laert.* lib. 6. in *Diogen.*

nothing *but in wearing fewer Cloaths*; 'Where-^{6 Juven. Sat. 13.} as the *Stoicks* hated the *Cynical Uncleanliness* both in Habit and Behaviour, as highly Scandalous and Dishonourable to Humane Nature. 'To return, neither do I think the *Scepticism* of the *New Academy* worth the bringing into the *Lists*: For what regard is to be had to those People that distrust their *Senses*, and destroy the Grounds of all *Science*? that Degrade a Man from the privilege of his Reason, make his Body and Soul Insignificant, and neither allow him Eyes, nor Understanding to any purpose.

I shall therefore proceed to those *Sages* who have been more happy in their pursuits of *Wisdom*, who have Cultivated Philosophy better, been better Follow'd, and gain'd more Credit in the World. And here I shall begin with the *Old Academicks*, and *Peripateticks*, who were *Plato's* Disciples: And since these two *Seçts* are the same in their *Tenents*, and differ only in their *Names*, and the *Places* where they first set up; ^{10 The first studied in the *Academia*, and the other in the *Lyceum*: Cicer. Acad. Lib. 1.} I shall for Brevity sake joyn them both together. Under this *Distinction* *Aristotle* was the most Eminent Person; He was indeed a very extraordinary *Genius*, ^{11 Averroes in *proem. Physic.*} run through *Logicks*, *Rhetorick*, *Poetry*, *Politicks*, *Oeconomicks*, *Ethicks*, and *Physicks*, and perform'd Wonders upon almost all the parts of Learning and Philosophy; ^{12 Cicer. Acad. Lib. 4.} insomuch that as far as

we can guess by what is *extant*, the World is more oblig'd to his *Pen*, than to all the *Old Authors* put together. 'Tis true, some give him this Character with an Exception of Preference for *Plato* his Master. ¹³ But these Criticks seem to mistake the Drift of *Plato's* Writings: It being not so much the Design of this great Man to treat the Principles of Science, and leave us a Body of Learning, as to Combat the *Sophists* of his own Time: ¹⁴ For this purpose he disputes under the Person of *Socrates*, and makes it his main business, to refute the Fallacies, to pull off the Mask, and expose the Trifling, of these pretenders in Philosophy. And working upon this View, he was oblig'd to take a compass in his Reasoning, to run out into seeming Digressions; and carry the Dispute to a vast length; And tho' the Connexion is true and Artificial, yet 'tis wrought in so fine, that the Reader has sometimes much ado to keep sight of the main Argument. 'Tis granted a Man is not apt to Tire upon the Journey; There's great variety of Invention; the stile is entertaining, and the Tale very handsomly told, but then the Cause is so bandied from one hand to another, ¹⁵ and pleaded with so much Colour, and Contradiction, that 'tis somewhat difficult, to come at the Truth, and know on which side the Verdict ought to be given.

And

And since *Aristotle* is more clear and intelligible, we shall apply to him for his Opinion concerning the Precepts of Life; This Philosopher therefore shall Represent his *Clan*, and deliver the Sence of the Old *Academicks*, and *Peripateticks*. Now *Aristotle*, as *Plato* did before him, ranges the Notion of *Advantage* under three Heads, and throws it into the Divisions of *Mind*, *Body*, and *Fortune*. 'Tis true, He gives the Preference to the First, but then he lays great stress upon the two Latter, and makes them contribute very considerably to the satisfaction of Life; ¹⁶ Insomuch that he won't allow the best Man Living to be Happy if either his Health, or his Pocket, are out of Order, ¹⁷ especially if he falls into any Remarkable Calamity; This weight of Adversity is too much for the Mind, and forces a Man's Virtue to grow uneasy: It makes a breach in his Enjoyment, and crushes his Happiness to pieces. ¹⁸

This is *Aristotle's* Opinion; But the *Stoicks* would not so much as grant Wealth, or *Constitution* any Consideration in this Case, nor vouchsafe to admit any thing *without* the Mind, into the Distinctions of Good, or Evil: With this *Set* the Circumstances of *Flesh* and *Blood*, and the Condition of *Externals*, were but a sort of Indifferent Matters, and signified little either one

¹⁶ Arist.
Ethic. Mag
lib. 1. cap. 21
Idem Ethic.
Eudem. lib.
6 cap. 13.
¹⁷ Cicer. de
fin. lib. 2.
Aristot. E-
thic. Magn.
lib. 2. cap. 8.

¹⁸ Aristot.
Ethic. Ni-
com. l. 1. c.
10. Idem.
Magn. lib.
6. cap. 11.

B way

19 Laert.
1 7 Zeno.
Senec. E-
pist. 71.

Senec. E-
pist. 120. &
Ep. 82. Am-
bros. Offic.
L. 2. c. 3.

23 Senec.
Epist. 91.

24 Epict.
Dissert. l. 1.
cap. 9.

25 Plat. A-
pol. Socrat.
Cic. Tusc. l.
1. Epictet.
Dissert. l. 3.
c. 26.
26 Epict.
enchir. c. 52.
Dissert. L. 3,
c. 22. Senec.
Epist. 107.

way, or t'other. For in their Philosophy nothing was Good, ¹⁹ but what was *Pious, Just, Honourable, and Humane*. Nor any thing Bad excepting what was *Wicked, Unjust, Inhumane, and Scandalous*: And for this reason, they look'd upon *Fools, and Knaves, Atheists, and Libertines, no better than Miserable Wretches*, tho' they were never so well accommodated in their *Purse, their Carcass, or their Quality*. And on the contrary, ²³ that a *Man of Virtue and Piety* is always in a State of Happiness, let his Circumstances be what they will, and himself never so much harass'd with the pretended *Evils of Life*. And lastly, ²⁴ that none but a Person of this Character can with any Propriety be said to be *Wise, to be rightly Free, and Master of himself*: And being always the *Favourite of Heaven, and the particular care of Providence*; he is the only Body that lives undisturb'd, and is out of the Reach of *Fear, and Anxiety*. For let him live, or dye, ²⁵ the Deity he resigns to, will never suffer him to fall into a real Disadvantage; ²⁶ so that 'tis impossible for him ever to be wretched, or uneasy, or to meet with any thing big enough to throw him out of his Satisfaction. These are the Generous Principles of the *Stoicks*, in which as they overshot the *Peripatetick*, and *Old Academick Sect*, so they must be said to approach nearer to the true Greatness of the *Christian Religion*. I con-

I confess I am not altogether of ²⁷ *Tully's*, ²⁷ Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. 1. De Finib. L. 4. ²⁸ August. d. Civit. Dei, Lib. 9. c. 4. and *St. Augustin's* ²⁸ Mind, who will have it that these two *Se^ts* are agreed in the Thing, and differ only in the wording their Opinion. Such a perfect Accommodation is, I think, prov'd Impracticable by *Tully* himself in the Person of *Cato*: ²⁹ How- ²⁹ Cicer. de finib. L. 3. ever, I am so far of this great Orator's Opinion that the Contest between the *Stoicks* and *Peripateticks*, was very Honourable: ³⁰ The Dignity, and Supremacy of *Virtue* was granted on both sides; The only Dispute was whether 'twas sufficient to do a Man's Business alone; and make him happy in spite of every Thing beside. But then to make no Difference between *Zeno's Cloyster*, and the *Gardens* of *Epicurus*; to compare the Men of Liberty, with the great Champions for *Virtue* and Self-denial, and to bring *Pleasure* and *Discipline* into a Competition, this looks like a very unhand- ³¹ Menand. apud Cyrill. advers. Julian. L. 7. some, and unreasonable Fancy. ³¹ For all that, some have been so hardy as to endeavour the Reconciling these Contradictions; and to make the Matter the more Extraordinary, it has been attempted by some of the *Stoicks*. Let's see a little how one of them pretends to manage the Paradox.

If you fancy there's any great matter between *us*, you are mistaken, says *Seneca*: ³² A little ³² Senec. de Vit. beat. 13. difference indeed, when *Virtue* is all in all

with one *Self*, and Pleasure the Idol of the other !

33 Ibid.

Seneca goes on : ³³ *Epicurus*, says he, puts Pleasure under the same Rules which we do Virtue. But first, under Favour, the *Stoicks* prescrib'd no Laws to Virtue, but took their Measures from her. Farther, granting their Doctrines the same in some Cases, this little step would never bring them together. All the World allows a great Difference between the Professions of Medicine and Philosophy ; and yet their Prescriptions concerning Diet, and Management are often the same. Let's hear the Advice of that

34 Hippo-
crat. Epi-
dem. L. 6.
Sect. 6.

Eminent Physician *Hippocrates* ; Let ³⁴ Labour, and Meat and Drink, and Sleep and Pleasure be all taken with Moderation. And would not a *Stoick*, *Epicurean*, or any other Philosopher have order'd just the same Thing ? But tho' the Prescription would be the same, the reason of prescribing would be different. Now in ³⁵ *Morality* 'tis the End which

35 Aristot.
Ethic. L. 3
c. 7.

gives the Form and Distinction to an Action : And here we shall find the *Stoick* and *Epicurean Philosophers* differ as much from each other in the main Drift, as they do from ³⁶ the Profession of Physick. The Physician's Business is to guard against Diseases, the *Epicureans* against Pain : and the *Stoicks* against Vice and Immorality : The first aims at the securing of Health, the second

36 Plut. de
valetud.
precept.

of

of *Pleasure*, and the third of *Honesty*. Nothing can be more remote than these two *Clans* of Philosophy. The one place *Virtue* upon the Throne, make her Absolute, and Independent ; and scarcely admit *Pleasure* to wait upon her tho' at an humble Distance. Whereas the other make probity truckle to Appetite, and afford Reason no better Office than to cater for their *Senses*. Here *Pleasure* is the Queen of the Country, and *Virtue* allow'd no better Business than to whisper a little Caution to her *Mistress* ; that she may not live too fast, wear up her Constitution ; and destroy the Capacities of Enjoyment.

³⁷ Cicero. de
nub. L. 2.

But there's a³⁸ great deal of Religion and Probity in the Precepts of Epicurus, yes a great deal of Discipline and Bravery too, if they are closely examin'd.

³⁸ Senec.
Epist. 33. &
alibi.

Wee'l come nearer then if you please, and look nicely into the Merits of the Cause : And this I shall do the rather, because this *Sect*, as Tully³⁹ observes, by counterfeiting the Air of *Virtue*, and dropping a few shining Sentences, had drawn off a great many Profelytes.

³⁹ Cicero. de
nub. L. 1.

And now in good earnest, can that Man set up for Religion who disclaims the Belief of Providence ? Who teaches that God is unconcern'd with the World, and neither gives himself, nor any body else any manner of Trouble ?

⁴⁰ Lucret.
lib. 1.

⁴¹ Epicur.
apud Laert.

lib. 10. Cicero. de Nat.
Deor. lib. 1.

42 Cic. in
Pison.

Trouble? That ⁴² the Business of Rewards and Punishments are foreign to his Nature, and that he can neither be angry nor pleas'd with poor Mortals? He must needs be a pious Philosopher, who as his Disciples are pleas'd to brag, was the first bold Man ⁴³ who durst attempt the scaling of the Skyes, and make an open Attack upon the Deity?

43 Lucrét.
lib. 1. Cic.
de Nat. De-
or. lib. 1.

And as for Honest Principles, how can we expect them from those People who declare they value neither ⁴⁴ Friendship, Good Faith, Justice, nor any other Virtue any farther than their ⁴⁵ Interest or their Fancy are serv'd by them: With these Philosophers ⁴⁶ Virtue has no Intrinsick Goodness, no Native Beauty, nothing that's charming in the bare Practice: No, Honesty and Truth ⁴⁷ do but glister in the Name, and make a handsome Noise, but there's nothing in them. And farther, they are so frank as to confess, that a Man ought not to balk himself in any Lewdness, ⁴⁸ Crime or Scandal, that has either Profit or Pleasure in't: Not to balk himself, I say, upon the Score of any Moral Deformity of the Action; For to say ⁴⁹ an Action is evil in it self, is a Jest: 'Tis true; one should be cautious when there's likely to be Damage, or Danger in the Case.

44 Torquar.
apud Cic. fin.
lib. 1.

45 Idem.
Ibid.

46 Cic. I-
bid: Epicur.
apud Laert.
lib. 10. Se-
nec. Epist.

47 Terq.
ubi supr.

48 Cic. de fin. lib. 2.
vid. sup.
Supr. dicitur

49 Epicur.
apud Laert.

50 Torq. ubi
supr. Epicur.
apud Laert.
Senec. Ep. 97.

51 Torq. ubi
supr. Epicur.
apud Laert.
Senec. Ep. 97.

But as for any Apprehensions about the Displeasure, and Vengeance of Heaven; that's all Superstition and stuff, with these Gentlemen; Conscience is a Cypher in their Philosophy; their

their Reason to forbear doing Mischief is only to save their Carcass; 'tis not the Law, but the Gallows which frights them; and besides, they are afraid a Provocation may be return'd by private Revenge; for let them be never so cunning, ⁵¹ there's no Ensuring of Falshood, and foul play.

⁵¹ Epicur.
apud
Laert. Sc-
nec. Ibid.

Let us proceed and examine the Strictness and Sobriety of their Philosophy; Alas! They suffer, ⁵² if you will take their Word for't, under a wrong Imputation: They are represented to breed their Disciples to Niceness, and Luxury, whereas the Case is quite otherwise; For their Lectures declare strongly for Regularity and Temperance, and are full of Gravity, and Discipline. Is not their Chief, Epicurus, ⁵³ very satyrical upon the Libertines? Does he not reprimand the Folly of those People who are overset with Pleasure, blinded with Appetite, and carried off with the Blandishments of Sense? And while they lye thus at the Mercy of Luxury, and Lust, they never consider what Diseases they bring upon themselves, how much pain they are likely to feel, and how dear the Frolick will cost them?

⁵² Torq.
apud Cic.de
finib. lib. 1.

⁵³ Torq.
Ibid.

But now by the last Sentence of his Correction we may discover the Ground of his falling out with these Sparks. The good Man does not lash their Vice out of any ill will to't; he is no Enemy to Debauchery;

54 Cicer. de
finib. lib. 2.
Epicur. a-
pud Laert.
lib. 10.
55 Cicer. de
fin. lib. 2.
Laert. lib.
10.

bauchery; For all Pleasure, ⁵⁴ let it come which way 'twill; is a good thing. Therefore says he, If those ⁵⁵ Satisfactions which gratify a Libertine, could deliver him from the Rebukes of Conscience and the fear of Death, and Apprehensions of Pain, if they could do this, and set Bounds of Convenience to his Fancy, I should have nothing to object against his Method; I should rather applaud his Choice, and encourage his Freedom; For when a Man is brim full of Delight, and has nothing to trouble him, he can't be in an ill way; for nothing but Pain and uneasy thinking, are Evil. Here we see plainly this Philosopher has no quarrel with a Debauchee for his Lewdness; he rather commends him for humouring his Palate, and making much of himself. He does so, provided he stands clear of Inconvenience; and in order to this, especial care must be taken to get the better of his Conscience, and drive Religion out of his Head: Why, when does Epicurus fall foul upon Spendthrifts and Libertines? Because they are Blockheads, ⁵⁶ and have no Discretion with their Vice; because they run themselves out of breath, and destroy the Pleasure with their Eagerness. Their unmanageableness ruins their Health, and their Fortune, and their Reputation, and more than that, it often brings them under the lash of the Law. These are

56 Torq.
apud Cic.
de finib. lib.
1.

are the strict Morals, the hard Lessons of *Epicurus's* School, and the rugged Penance he puts his Profelytes upon! He gives them their full Freedom in Debauchery: But then they must be lewd like Men of Sense, and Understanding; for to overdrive their Constitution, and lose their Credit, and bring themselves to Beggary and Trouble, these are bad things indeed!

But notwithstanding the Liberty of their Principles, and their Idolizing of Pleasure, there were several of them Men of great Temperance, and Frugality: ⁵⁷ *Epicurus*

⁵⁷ Senec. Ep. 18:

will tell you, that he could satisfy his Stomach for a half Penny; And Metrodorus, tho' a lower Proficient could do it for three Farthings. Yes, *Epicurus* had put so much Philosophy in his Palate, that Bread and Water ⁵⁸ would Regale him, and make him

⁵⁸ Epicur. apud Stob. rom. 2, tit. 17.

almost wild with Satisfaction: As for Luxuries, and Expence he despis'd the Relish, and abominated the Thoughts on't: Give him but a Glass of pure Element, and a little Hasty-

pudding, and he would hardly have ⁵⁹ own'd that Jupiter had eaten better: This ⁶⁰ Diet

⁵⁹ Ibid. Senec. Ep. 110. Ep. 25.

if you are but rightly sharp, has as much taste in't as you would wish: For ⁶¹ very ordinary

⁶⁰ Epicur. Ibid, Cic de finib. lib. 2. ⁶¹ Laert. lib. 10.

Meat and Drink will oblige the Sense, and lay Hunger asleep as effectually, as that which is counted the most Delicious.

Endoxus liv'd before *Epicurus*, and was a Person of the same Persuasion: Now
⁶² *Aristotle* gives this Man an extraordinary Character for Sobriety, and makes him a great Master of his Palate: This Command of himself made his Opinion go much the farther: ⁶³ For People would not believe that any Byness of Interest, or Sensuality could govern him, but that 'twas pure Conviction and ⁶⁴ Force of Truth, which brought him to declare for the Preheminence of Pleasure. But as for *Epicurus's* Temperance, there's some Reason to question it. For *Timochares* assures us, ⁶⁵ that he was so far from being satisfied with a Meal of three Farthings, that 'twas his Method to eat up three Pounds Sterling every Day: And this Story he does ⁶⁶ not stick to confirm himself. So that his common Custom, and his Fits of Mortification, seem to be very different. Sometimes 'tis granted he us'd to accommodate his Stomach ⁶⁷ very indifferently; This he did to try whether his Pleasure abated with his Retrenching, or to what Degree: And that he might be convinc'd whether good Eating was worth the Drudging for or not: And it may be He made the Experiment ⁶⁸ to arm himself against Casualty, and Misfortune, and that ⁶⁹ Poverty might never catch him unprovided. In short, He seems to have done that by Fits, which it may be was *Endoxus's* constant Practice,
 Let

⁶² *Arist.*
Ethic. lib.
 10. cap. 1.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Laert.*
lib. 10.

⁶⁶ *Ep. ad*
Leontium
Meretriculam, &c.

⁶⁷ *Senec.*
Ep. 18. ex
Epicuri. ad
Polyzenum
Ep.

⁶⁸ *Idem.*

Ibid.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Let us now enquire into the Reasons of his Discipline: Let us examine why he refuses to be always in a Course of Luxury; what puts him upon starts of Austerity, and makes him prefer a homely Diet to a plentiful Table. Now in the first place Hee'll tell you, He does not take up upon the score of Conscience, as if ⁷⁰ Temperance were worth the minding, or there was any harm in Gluttony: Not at all. 'Tis the ill effects, and not the Excesses of Gourmandizing which makes him a little Cautious. For to keep the Kitchen always hot, is the way to set the House on fire. To be always loading the Table, and eating of tid-Bits, must sink a Man's Pocket cruelly. Such Extravagance commonly ends in Beggary; the Glutton lays ⁷¹ all upon the tip of his Tongue, *and swallows his Estate like a poached Egg.* And which is more, these Excesses make the Carkass smart, as well as the Pocket. And here ⁷² the Epicurean is attack'd in the Seat of his Pleasure, and touch'd in the most sensible Part. Thus *Epicurus* observes, that those People who have no Brains to their Palate, commonly pay for't in their ⁷³ Health. For that which would be Nourishment to a hungry Stomach, is but a Burthen to us when we are full. Thus *a great many Dishes* ⁷⁴ *breed a great many Diseases, we eat our selves into a Consumption;*

⁷⁰ Epicur.
apud Stob.
tom. 2. tit.
^{17.}
Torquat.
apud Cic. de
finib. lib. 1.

⁷¹ Athen.
lib. 49

⁷² Cicer. de
finib. lib. 2.

⁷³ Cicer de
finib. lib. 1.

⁷⁴ Senec.
Epist. 95.

75 Senec
Ibid.

76 Athen.
lib. 1. &
lib. 15.

77 Senec
Epist. 18.
Epicur. apud
Laert. lib.
10.

78 Epicur
apud Senec.
& Laert.
Ibid.
79 Epicur.
apud Stob.
sup.

80 Cicer de
finib. lib. 1.
81 Juven.
Sat. 11.

*Consumption ; and grow leaner by being over-
stuffed, than we should do by fasting. And
to conclude, Drunkenness and Gluttony,
are punish'd with such Defluxions ⁷⁵ of
Rheum, with so much Qualm, and Headach,
with such Pains and Weakness in their
whole Body ; insomuch that if Men ⁷⁶
would think a little before-hand, and
compute upon the consequences of a De-
bauch ; they would not run themselves
a ground so often, nor carry the Frolick
so far as they do. Besides, Epicurus and
his Followers, had a farther aim in their
Experiments of Sobriety : They did not
practise it as a Virtue, but as an Exercise :
⁷⁷ They made Prosperity do Penance some-
times, that they might bear Adversity the
better : That they might have nothing new to
surprize them ; and that the Hardships of
Choice might reconcile them to those of Necessi-
ty. They had likewise a mind to try
how ⁷⁸ little would satisfy Nature, and how
⁷⁹ relishing Hunger could make it. And
lastly, they pinch'd now and then, that
they might feast ⁸⁰ with the better Gust : For
⁸¹ sensual Satisfactions are the more welcome,
by making their Visits seldom : Frequency in
this case does but clog the Senles, and
make the Appetite grow dull. And there-
fore feeding constantly upon Delicacies is
said to have more of Expence than Plea-
sure*

sure ⁸² in't. Distance, and Intermission, ⁸² Athen. lib. 10.
 give a Keeness to Desire : Hunger streng-
 thens ⁸³ the Taste, and doubles the Satisfac- ⁸³ Senec. de
 tion ; as Liberty is much sweeter when benec. lib.
 it rises out of Servitude, and Oppression. 1. c. 11.
 This made *Socrates* pronounce ⁸⁴ *Hunger* ⁸⁴ Cicer. de
 an admirable Sauce : And as that Philoso- finb. lib. 2.
 pher used to say, that by walking himself
 sharp, ⁸⁵ he had no occasion to go to the ⁸⁵ Cicer.
 Butcher ; for his Loaf would afford him Tuscul. lib.
 Bread and Meat too, when he was through- 5. Laert. 12.
 ly Hungry. Just thus *Epicurus* used to
 balk himself sometimes and keep his Sto-
 mach craving ; that he might fall too with
 more Eagerness afterwards, and be better
 prepared for a Luxurious Entertainment.
 But when the Design is thus mean, what
 Virtue or Credit can you expect in the
 Practise ? He is a poor Man of *Morals* that
 can rise no higher than Pleasure, and Cram-
 ming ! A Man may find as much Philoso-
 phy in a *Hen-coop*, as this comes to.

Thus we have taken a View of the Ri-
 gour, Severity, and Mortification of *Epicu-
 rus's* Doctrine ! Let us now proceed to his
Flights of Fortitude. Yes, says *Seneca*, *Epi-
 curus* had *Mettal* both in his Books, and
 his Practise : He ⁸⁶ was a *finical Spark*, 'tis ⁸⁶ Senec.
 true, but a brave Fellow for all that. How Ep. 33.
 do you prove it ? Because there's Resolu-
 tion ; as well as Prudence in his Conduct.

For

87 Epicur.
apud Laert.
l. 10.

88 Epicur.
apud Laert.
lib. 10.

For notwithstanding he ⁸⁷ pronounces all *Pleasure to be Good, and Pain to be Evil* in it self, yet sometimes, when Interest and Convenience require it, he ⁸⁸ *manages as if he believed the quite contrary*. Upon this Account, he checks his Fancy, and denies himself in his Pleasure, when he foresees there will be Pain at the end on't; And on the other Hand makes no difficulty to submit to Fatiguing, and Trouble when he has a fair Prospect of an over-balance of Pleasure by the Bargain. And is not all this an Argument of Fortitude, as well as Understanding?

89 Ovid.
Amor. l. 1.
Eleg. 9.
90 Senec.
Ep. 36.

But under favour, the submitting to some Instances of Hardship is no sufficient Proof of Fortitude. If this Pretence would do, ⁸⁹ *Lovers, and Madmen*, ⁹⁰ would be the bravest People in the World: For won't the first drudge and mortify strangely to gain their Point? And as for the latter, they'l charge up to the Cannons Mouth, and no Consideration of danger can stop their Frensy. At this rate a hardy Malefactor might challenge the Virtue of a Philosopher. Those Libertines likewise may come in for a share of this Character, who murder themselves because they han't patience to out-live their Pocket, nor bear up against the Consequences of their Folly. And yet
Epicurus

Epicurus ⁹¹ himself gives the Cause against these People. To go on; By this reasoning, those wretches ⁹² may be said to be brave, who out of an over-fondness of Life are contented to put an incurable Carcase upon the Rack, and submit to extremity of Torture; tho' all they get by it, is rather to prolong their *Misery*, than their *Being*. And thus that scandalous Carpet-Knight *Mæcenas*, would pass for a Man of *Fortitude*; for if those Verses of his cited by *Seneca*, were spoken in earnest, nothing can be more mean:

⁹¹ Senec.
Epist.

⁹² Senec.
Ep. 101.

Let Gout my Hands and Feet distress,
Or Palsy make me Motionless;
Let my whole Body start in Tumours,
And all my Blood be turn'd to Humours;
Grant me but Life, and I'm contented,
And on the Rack shall ne're repent it,

⁹³ Apud:
Senec Ep.
101.

I am willing (says he) to be impaled ⁹⁴ *or*
crucified if you please, so you will but let me
live through it. Without doubt 'tis worth
his while to rest on his Wounds, and be strain'd
on a Gibbet, only to keep his Punishment alive;
which 'tis the best of his Case to dispatch as
soon as may be! And lastly by this Notion;
Whosoever denies himself for his Pleasure,
and suffers to gratify a Vicious Passion may
be called a Man of Fortitude. But we say,
'tis

⁹⁴ Senec.
Ibid.

95 August
in Psal. 34.

96 Aristot.
Ethic. lib.
3 cap. 7.

97 Torq.
apud Cic de
finib. lib. 1.
98 Epicur.
apud Laert.

99 Cicer.
Tusc. lib. 2.
lib. 5.
Senec. Ep.
66. Epicur.
apud Laert.
Phalaris's
Bull was
made of
Brass, hol-
low and red
hot.
100 Epicur.
Epist. ad
Idom. Laert.
lib. 10.
Cicer. Tusc.
lib. 2. Se-
nec. Epist.
66. and 92.

'tis the ⁹⁵ *Cause* and not the *Punishment*, that makes the *Martyr*. And thus 'tis not the *What*, but the *Why* of a Mans suffering, which gives him the Credit on't: The Virtue turns chiefly upon the *Reason*, not upon the *Pain*: He only is the brave Man, that mortifies upon Principle; ⁹⁶ that chuses rather to suffer than misbehave himself; and runs through all Discouragements upon the score of Conscience and Honour. But how can that Man suffer upon *these Grounds*, who lays it down for a Maxim, that *Honesty* unattended with *Pleasure*, is good for nothing: A meer *Shadow* ⁹⁷ without any thing *Substantial* to fill the Grasp: And who looks upon ⁹⁸ *Fortitude* without reference to *Interest*, to be no better than *Whimsey*, and *Romance*.

However, it must be granted, *Epicurus* has a great deal of *Courage* in some of his Sentences: Tho' after all, the Vanity of them seems more remarkable than the Greatness. His *Wise-man*, if you'll take his Word for't, must be Happy with the *Scottish Boot*. Yes, if he was roasting in ⁹⁹ *Phalaris's Bull*, he would bellow with Satisfaction; and cry out what a delicious Torture is this? And how handsomely do I contemn it? Nay, he tells you of himself, ¹⁰⁰ that the last *Agonizing Day of his Life was the happiest in the World*; 'Tis true the *Cholick* and the *Stone*,

Stone, ¹ *raged to Extremity, and did their* ¹ Ibid.
worst upon him. But then the Pleasure ² *he* ² Ibid.
had in the Reflection upon his own Writings,
overtop'd the Pain ; and made his Imagina-
tion too strong for his Senses.

But we must not be too forward in be-
 lieving a Rhodomontade, against *avow'd*
Principles. 'Tis true, if these Flourishes
 had been spoken by a Philosopher that
 confines the Notion ³ of *Advantage* to ³ Senec.
Honesty, and reckons nothing but ⁴ *Vice* ⁴ Ibid. 9.
 a *Misfortune.* That makes *Good* and ⁴ Id. de vit.
Evil, ⁵ *lye only in the use of the Will,* and ⁵ Ibid. c.
 the Temper of the *Mind :* who declares ¹⁶
Virtue self-sufficient ⁶ *for a happy Life, and* ⁶ Ibid.
that she stands in need of no Foreign ⁷ *Assist-* ⁷ Id. Ep. 92.
ance. He that tells you that a perfect Phi-
 losopher is impregnable in his *Happiness,*
 and proof against the Impressions of *Pain :*
⁸ That *Virtue* is never to be beaten off, ⁸ Ibid.
 'twill keep a ⁹ Man Company under all ⁹ Cicero.
Tryals, mount the *Scaffold,* and the *Wheel,*
 and shine ¹⁰ through his Limbs, while he's ¹⁰ Senec. de
 burning at the *Stake.* A Man that has ¹⁰ benet. lib. 6.
 such hardy Principles may talk at this rate ;
 for here his Heart and his Tongue go to-
 gether, and there's consistency in the Case.
 But can any one be so void of common
 Sense, as to believe *Epicurus* in earnest in
 such Flights as these? *Epicurus,* I say, who
 C makes

¹¹ Epicur.
apud Laert.
l. 10. Ciccr.
de finib lib.
1, & 2.

¹² Ciccr de
finib. lib. 1,
& 2.

¹³ Epicur.
apud Laert.
lib. 10.
Ciccr de fi-
nib l. 2.
Tuf l. 3.
¹⁴ Senec.
Ep. 9.

¹⁵ Epicur.
apud Laert.

makes *Pleasure* the *Supreme Good*, ¹¹ *Pain* and *Torment*, the most formidable *Evil*. And when he has done, states his Notions of these things in the most scandalous manner imaginable. For he affirms the *Body* ¹² the main Seat of Satisfaction; denies the *Mind* any independant Entertainment of her own: And maintains that all the *Pleasure* of *Thought*, either *begins* from the *Body* or *Ends* in it. And lastly, He is so frank as to confess; that as for the Notion of *Good*, as some People understood it, he neither knew *where* 'twas, nor *what*. Nothing was *Good* to him; that was not *Good* to his ¹³ *Senses*, that did not please him in his *Eyes*, or in his *Ears*, in his *Touch*, his *Taste*, or his *Smelling*.

No Man, says the Poet in *Seneca*, is ¹⁴ *Happy who does not think* himself so: Yes, says *Epicurus*; he must ¹⁵ fancy himself superlatively Happy, or else it won't do: Now how can that Man have such a pleasant Fancy, that lies Agonizing in *Pain*? And owns himself afflicted with the greatest *Evil*, and in the highest Degree imaginable?

But *Epicurus's* Lodgings are too *Rank* to stay in; a little better Air won't do amiss, and therefore wee'l take a turn in *Zeno's Piazza*.

Now

Now the *Stoicks* are of a quite different Complexion, and directly opposite to the *Epicurean Tenents* above-mentioned.

These Philosophers have admirable Notions ; ' They ¹⁵ hold that God Almighty ' governs the *Universe* ; that his Providence ' is not only *General*, but *Particular*, and ' reaches to *Persons*, and *Things* : That ¹⁷ ' he presides over Humane Affairs ; that he ' assists Men not only in the greatest Con- ' cerns, in the Exercises of *Virtue*, but al- ' so supplies them with the Conveniencies ' of Life. And ¹⁸ ' therefore that God ought ' to be Worshipp'd above all Things, and ' applied to upon all Occasions ; that we ' ¹⁹ should have him always in our Thoughts, ' acknowledge his *Power*, resign to his *Wis-* ¹⁹ *dom*, and adore his *Goodness* for all the ' ²⁰ *Satisfactions* of our *Being*. To ²¹ sub- ' mit to his *Providence* without Reserve. To ' be pleased with his Administration ; ' and fully persuaded that the Scheme of ' the World could not have been mended, ' nor the Subordination of Things more ' suitably adjusted, nor all *Events* have ' been better timed for the common Advan- ' tage : ' And therefore that 'tis the Duty ' of all Mankind, to obey the *Signal*, and ' follow the Intimations of Heaven, with ' all the Alacrity imaginable : That the ' ²⁴ *Post* assign'd us by Providence must be

¹⁶ *Epic.*
differt. l. 1.
c. 12 & c.
14 & 16.

¹⁷ *Marc. l.*
1. *Señt.* 17.
& alib.

¹⁸ *Marc. l.*
5. *Señt.* 33.
& alib.

¹⁹ *Epic. l.*
2. c. 16. l. 4.
c. 4.

²⁰ *Epic. l.*
1. c. 16
²¹ *Epic. l.*

²² 4. c. 12.
²² *Marc.*
passim

²³ *Epic.*
lib. 4. c. 7.
Marc. lib.
12. & alib;

²⁴ *Senec.*
Ep. 107.

25 Epist. 1.
3. c. 24.

' maintain'd with Resolution; and that we
' ought to die a²⁵ thousand times over,
' rather than desert it.

These are the *Stoicks* Principles concern-
ing the *Deity*, and the Regard due to him :
Let us now examine how they stand af-
fected towards Mankind.

25 Senec. de
benef. l. 2.
c. 6 Marcus
passim.

And here their *Precepts* are no less ex-
traordinary than in the former Case. For
' They declare²⁵ plainly, that we must love
' all Mankind heartily, and without a Com-
' pliment; that we must solicit their Inte-
' rest, bear with their Infirmities, and do
' no manner of Injury to any Mortal : That
' a Man should not think himself born on-
' ly for his private Satisfaction; but exert
' his Strength for the publick Advantage,
' and make his Life as significant to the
' World as 'tis possible : That²⁶ the Con-
' science of a good Action should content
' him; without the prospect of Fame or
' Reward : That he should never be tired
' with the Exercise of Good Nature, but
' pursue one Kindness so closely with ano-
' ther, that there may be no room for any
' insignificant Spaces of Life to come be-
' tween. That a Man ought to look upon a
' Generous Action as a Reward to it self,
' and that we oblige our selves, by doing
' a good turn to another. And therefore
' that 'tis a piece of Meanness to ramble
' Abroad,

26 Cir. de
finib. l. 2.
Marcus.

‘ Abroad, and grasp at Interest, or Applause.
 ‘²⁷ Farther ; ‘ That the polishing our *Reason* ^{27 Marc. Insp.}
 ‘*son* ; and the governing our *Will*, is the
 ‘ most noble Employment ; and that no-
 ‘ thing ought to be preferr’d to the Prac-
 ‘ tice of Honesty. And lastly, ^{28 Marc.} ‘ That a
 ‘ Man should stand immovably by his *Reason*,
 ‘ that no clamour of Appetite should
 ‘ call him off, that no Loss of Fortune, no
 ‘ Menaces of Death, no Extremities of Tor-
 ‘ ture, should make him give way, or
 ‘ frighten him from a known Duty.

These are some of the Noble Sentences
 we meet with in the Writings of the *Stoicks* ;
 what strains of *Piety*, what Instances of *Hu-*
manity, what flights of *Greatness* are here ?
 And to give them their due, they don’t
 run out into Inconsistency, nor talk above
 their *Principles*. Whereas the *Epicurean*
Doctrins if you take them rightly, have
 neither *Substance* nor *Show* in them.

But ’tis objected against the *Stoicks*, that
 they were but *little follow’d*, that they were
 not constant to their Party, and fail’d in
 the point of Practice. I shall touch upon
 all these.

And first of the Smallness of their Num-
 bers ; it seems this *Sett* had always fewer
 Disciples than any of the rest. The *Epi-*
cureans had it clearly by the *Poll* : They
 used to Flourish mightily upon the crowd

29 Cic. de
finib. l. 2.

of Profelytes which follow'd their Master. And *Torquatus* in *Tully* does not stick to affirm; that the Bulk of the People ²⁹ run after *Epicurus*, and that the Strength, tho' not the Reason, of Mankind, was undoubtedly on his side.

30 Bias.

31 Senec. de
vit. beat.
c. 2.

32 Id. Ep.
42.

33 Id. de
vit. beat.
c. 2.

Neither is there any great wonder in all this. *Strabo* the Natural Philosopher was much in the right when he observ'd, That the Bath, and the Wells were much more fancied, than the making a Campaign. People don't care for straining up an Ascent, nor travelling in a rugged Path; A Road that's open and unfatiguing has always most Company. But then the Multitude are little more than so many Noses: They have Numbers but no great weight in them. Pebbles are much more common than Diamonds. And 'tis an old Saying, that the bad ³⁰ are always the Majority. ³¹ To agree with the Multitude, is an Argument of a wrong Choice. ³² Things extraordinary in Value, are not thick sown: Neither was the World ever in so happy a Condition, as that the Best ³³ Practices, should be follow'd by the Most.

2dly. As the *Stoicks* made the least Body in the Field, so several of them changed their side, and went over to other Parties, particularly to the *Epicureans*, whereas on the contrary very few Deserted to them.

This

This Objection supposing the *Fact* true, has as little weight in't as the former. When an Argument proves too much 'tis like a Gun over-charg'd, and recoils upon him that shoots in't.

'I remember *Calisto* ³⁴ an *Athenian* ³⁴ *Æl. Hist.*
'Strumpet had the Impudence to tell *Socrates*, that her Profession was better than his; there was more Force and Persuasion in't she said, for 'twas more than he could do to draw off any of her *Guests*: But 'twas in her Power to thin his School, and leave him little more than the Walls to talk to when she had a mind to't. *Socrates* replied, *all that might very well be*: For Philosophy was like tugging up the Hill, and went somewhat against the Grain: Whereas Lewdness, was rolling downwards, and the Motion might seem easy at present, tho' a Man broke his Bones at the Bottom. Pleasure lies upon a Descent, but the way to *Virtue* has a contrary Situation: And since the Bias of Mankind leans towards Vice; 'Tis no wonder to find People revolt from *Discipline*, and go over to the loosest *Doctrines*. ^{Var. l. j. c. 32.}

But farther 'tis alledged, that a great many who stood firm to the *Stoical* Philosophy, and disputed strongly for their *Notions*; yet lived quite counter to what they professed. They had the *Name* and the *Habit*, but nothing of the *Regularity* of

their *Distinction*: Their Tongues were not all of a piece. They talk'd like People of their own *Sett*, but tasted like *Epicureans*. For this Inconsistency of *Practice* and *Pre-tention*, they are handsomely ³⁵ lash'd by *Lucian* and several others.

³⁵ Luc. in
vii. audi-
one, & alib.

Now this Charge has nothing new in't, neither does it bear particularly against the *Stoicks*. For among all sorts of Persuasions, we may meet with enough that are meer *Instruments* and ³⁶ *Organs* in their Business, like *Viol* and *Trumpet* they entertain the Company, but not themselves; they make *Musick*, but they don't hear it. The *Stoicks* were not the only People in the World, that had their Tongues tip'd with Philosophy, and not one jot of Good in them beside. Even in the first Fervours of *Christianity*, the Apostles complained there were some who said one thing, and did another. Who ³⁷ profess'd to know God, but in Works they deny'd him, ³⁸ who had a Form of Godliness, but deny'd the Power thereof. Who turn'd ³⁹ the Grace of God into Lasciviousness: Who made ⁴⁰ use of their Liberty for a Gloak of Maliciousness; who ⁴¹ promised others Liberty, and were themselves the Servants of Corruption. Now 'twould be very unreasonable to make a Judgment of the *Christian Religion* from the Misbehaviour of such Men. Such Men I say, as would have been a scandal to a much

³⁶ Laert. l.
6. & l. 7.

³⁷ Tit. i. 16.

³⁸ Tim. 2.

Eph 3. 5.

³⁹ Jude v. 4.

⁴⁰ Pet. Ep.

1. c. 2. v. 16.

⁴¹ Pet. Ep.

2. c. 2. v. 19.

much lower *Institution*; And, as our Emperour ⁴² speaks, were rather *Ulcers*, than ^{42 Marc. l. 2. Sect. 16.} *Members* of a *Society*. Crates ⁴³ the Philosopher used to say, that a *Good Pomgranate*, ^{43 Lacrt. l. 6.} *was seldom without a rotten Kernel*; And Varro is much to the same Purpose, where he says, that *it must be* ⁴⁴ *a rare Field of* ^{44 Var. 2. pud Non.} *Corn that has not a blasted Ear in't*. Nay, even in our ⁴⁵ *Lord's Husbandry* the *Tares* ^{45 Mat. 13. 25, 27.} grow up with the rest of the Crop, and yet to judge of all the *Grain* by the Quality of the *Weeds*, would be a very undistinguishing Conclusion.

And lastly, Whereas 'tis objected, that the greatest part even of the most Eminent of this *Seet* have not exactly come up to their own Precepts; But in some Instances at least, have fallen short of that *Rule* they took the Liberty to make themselves.

In answer to this, I desire to know whether those who are *Christians* in earnest don't sometimes warp in their Practice, and start now and then from the *Institution*? Those who in St. Paul's Language were *Pillars of the* ⁴⁶ *Church*, and in the most significant Sense too, have without Exception ^{46 Gal. 2. 9.} declar'd, that ⁴⁷ *in many things we offend all*. ^{47 Jam. 3. 2.} And St. John assures us, that if we ⁴⁸ *say we* ^{48 Joh. Ep. I. c. I. v. 8.} *have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us*. Even the *Apostles* themselves who had the Benefit of our Saviour's

In-

49 Gal. 2. 11.
Act. 15. 39.

Instruction and Example, were not without their ⁴⁹ Failings. And therefore 'tis the less wonder to find the highest Pretenders among the Heathens, to forget themselves a little, and sleep over their *Philosophy*. The Oracle never deliver'd a greater Truth than that of *Æschylus*, where he tells us that

50 Stob.
tom. 2. tit. 3.
51 S. nec de
vit. beat. c.
18.

"The wisest living an't without their Errors."

As for the *Stoicks*, they "ne'er pretended themselves big enough for their Speculations, or that their *Lives* were an exact Counterpart of what they taught. 'Tis true, they made a Beautiful Scheme, and set the Rule high; But this was chiefly to put People upon doing their Best, to awaken Industry and encourage Imitation.

And yet after all, the *Stoical Philosophy* has produced great Examples of Virtue in several Ages. Some of this Persuasion have been remarkably consistent with their Doctrines, and held out to the length of their Principles: And that not only by Fits, and broken Intervals, but by a constant and uninterrupted Regularity. Amongst these we shall mention *Zeno* first, in Honour of whose Memory there was an Extraordinary Vote pass'd by the Senate of Athens, viz. *Resolv'd,*

'That

‘ That in “ Consideration of the great ⁵² Latr. lib. 7.
 ‘ Merit of *Zeno’s* Virtue, the Consistency
 ‘ of his Precept and Practice, and the noble
 ‘ Example he set the World, *This House* has
 ‘ thought fit to order him a Statue of Brass,
 ‘ with a Golden Crown on the Head on’t;
 ‘ to erect him a Tomb at the Publick
 ‘ Charge, ornamented with two Pillars,
 ‘ with the *Inscription* of this *Vote* upon each
 ‘ of them.

Zeno the *Chief* of this *Clan*, had several eminent *Disciples* who in their respective *Times* were remarkable *Instances* of *Virtue*, in all the parts of a *Good Life*; and here waving those who were *Philosophers* by *Profession*; I shall mention some of great *Quality*, and *Figure*; As *Cato Uticensis*, *Thraseas Patru*, *Helvidius Priscus*, and more especially our *Emperour Marcus Antoninus*, who is the occasion of the present *Discourse*.

From the *Philosophy* of the *Stoicks*, let us proceed to those *Authors* that deliver’d it, and by whom the *Subject* is treated at large. Amongst these *Zeno*, and *Chrysippus* were the most considerable. The first was ⁵³ Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.
 Founder of the *Seç*, and is stiled the *Prince*
and Father of the Stoicks, by ⁵⁴ Strab. Geogr. lib. 14.
 ‘ *Tully*, ⁵⁵ *Strabo*, and ⁵⁶ *Galen*. The other was a very suc-
 cessful *Champion*, and added a great deal
 of *Strength*, and *Defence* to the first *Plan*: ⁵⁷ Hippoc. & Platon. l. 2. c. 6.

In-

56 Laert.
lib. 7.

57 Laert.
Ibid.

58 Plut. In
Stoic. re-
pugnant. de
commun
Notit. & de
Paradox.
59 Galen in
lib. de Dog-
mat. Hippo-
crat. & Pla-
ton.
60 Laert.
lib. 7.
61 Cicero. In
Acad. Tuf-
cul. de fin.
& de nat.
Deor.

62 Quintil.
Instit. lib.
10. cap. 1.

Insomuch that it was commonly said, *That Zeno's Cloyster* ⁵⁶ *must have tumbled, had it not been Buttress'd up by Chrysippus.* Both these Philosophers were very Voluminous Writers; *Chrysippus* is said to have left no less, then ⁵⁷ seven hundred and five *Tracts* behind him; But neither of them have had the good luck to stand the shock of Time; nor indeed have we so much as any one Volume of the *first set* of these *Sages*, come to our Hands. There are only some *Fragments* of them remaining in *Plutarch*, *Galen*, *Laertius*, and *Tully*. The first ⁵⁸ is always, and the second ⁵⁹ for the most part, their Enemy; The third ⁶⁰ is but a bare Reporter, and the last ⁶¹ Disputes the Question on both sides. 'Tis true, we had a little better Fortune afterwards: The Works of some later Philosophers of this *Persuasion* have reach'd us; And those are, *Seneca*, *Epicætus*, and our *Emperour*.

Of these three, *Seneca* is the first in Time, but in my Opinion, the least in Value, and Merit: 'Tis granted, he has a great many ⁶² shining Sentences, his Precepts are admirable, his Manner Noble, and his way of Arguing very Acute in many Places: Indeed he deserves to be read by the most serious Professions as well as others; but then this ought to be done with somewhat of Care and Caution. For to be free with him,

him, he is not Uniform, and all of a Piece. I don't mean his Life, tho' *Dion Cassius* taxes him upon this Score, as if *he wrote* ⁶³ *one way, and lived another*. No, 'tis his ⁶³ *Books* that I speak to; And here, how ful- ⁶³ *somely* does he flourish upon that heavy Emperor *Claudius*: ⁶⁴ "And to pass his Flat- ⁶⁴ *tery* the better, makes his Compliment to that scandalous Tool of a Courtier *Polybius*? But these good Words, were all given while *Claudius* was living; for when the Empe- rour was once dead, he palts his *Memory* ⁶⁵ "to some purpose; and falls upon him with all the Violence of *Satyr* imaginable. To go on: How does he contradict himself about the State of the Soul after Death? One while, he makes her shoot the Gulph, and ⁶⁶ "mount the Skies, without the least Damage: at another time she is little bet- ⁶⁶ *ter* with him than a Wax ⁶⁷ *Candle*: For when the Matter is once spent, the *Vital* ⁶⁷ *Flame* sinks in the Socket, and all the pre- tended Immortality is over. Sometimes he bears hard upon *Epicurus*, censures his Wri- tings, and lashes him for his *Liberty* severe- ly: Calls ⁶⁸ "him a *Man of an Abjeſt*, and ⁶⁸ *Scandalous Temper*, perfectly ridden by his *Appetite*, fitter for a Cook, than ⁶⁹ "a *Philoso- 69 *pher*, and that his School ⁷⁰ "taught nothing but ⁷⁰ *Luxury and Pleasure*. But his angry Hu- mour does not last always: For upon ano- ther*

ther occasion, (it may be to curry Favour with his Friend *Lucilius*, who was an admirer of this *Sect*;) he comes round again, and not only excuses *Epicurus*, wipes out his Infamy, ⁷¹ and Blanches his ⁷² Reputation; but likewise gives him a great Character, says his *Principles* are Remarkable for ⁷³ *Justice* and *Piety*, and if you examine them nicely, for *Mortification* too. And lastly, he is sometimes guilty of the same Trifling, which he finds fault with in *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*. He is ⁷⁴ Gay sometimes when he should be Solemn, and Flourishes when he should strike home. He makes a Pass with a *Pin*, and rather pricks a Subject than pierces it. He gives you sometimes a turn of Fancy, instead of Solid Proof; His Notions are now and then so superfine, that the least Resistance turns the Edge of them. They have generally a *Point*, but no Weight of Body for Execution. This may be looked on as an Excess of clear Dealing; but I am not the first that have taken this Freedom with *Seneca*; several Great Men have pass'd the same Judgment upon him long since. However I desire not to be understood as if I had a mind to detract from the Worth, or discourage the Reading of this Philosopher, who was really a Person of an extraordinary Genius; and has always had Men of Sense and Learning

71 Ep. 13.
& 21. & 48.
72 De Vir.
beat. cap. 13.

73 Ibid.

74 Quintil.
Instic. lib.
10. c. 1.
Gellius
Noct. Actic.
l. 12. 62. E-
rasmi. pre-
fat. ad Se-
nec.

ning to admire him. My meaning is only to shew, that this *Roman* failed a little in the Points of Gravity and Fortitude, so peculiar to the *Stoicks*: And that *Epicætus*, and *Marcus Antoninus* out-did him, both in their Pens and their Practice. These two Persons, tho' in contrary Stations, and in the Remotest Distance of Circumstances imaginable: The one being a poor *Slave*, and the other the greatest *Monarch* in the *Universe*. These two Persons, I say, have shew'd the Force of the *Stoical* Philosophy; and how strongly it Operates under all Diversities of Condition; And that not only by a Comprehensive Body of Refined Morality in their Writings, but also by an Illustrious Example every way agreeable to the Nobleness of the Precepts delivered.

Thus far I have Translated the Learned Gataker, who proceeds in his Prolegomena, to draw a Parallel between the Doctrines of our Blessed Saviour, and those of Marcus Antoninus in many considerable Instances, insomuch that one wou'd imagine the Emperor had Transcribed part of his Philosophy from the four Evangelists: But this I shall rather leave to the Reader's Collection, than present him with that before-hand, which 'tis likely he may with more Satisfaction discover for himself. The rest of Gataker's Introductive Discourse is foreign to our Purpose, and therefore I shall go on with it no farther.

T H E

T H E
L I F E

Of the EMPEROUR

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

Translated from the *French* Original
of Monsieur *D'acier*, and support-
ed by the Authorities Collected
by Dr. *Stanhope*.

After the Death of *Julius Caesar*, the
Roman Empire fell under the most
different Administrations imaginable: The
Famous *Triumvirate*, together with the
Reigns of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, sat
heavy upon the People, and made them
sensible of the most Tyrannical Exercises
of Power: The Emperours *Augustus*, *Ves-*
pasian, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus Pius*,
were quite of another Temper, and made
the Government remarkable for Justice and
Clemency. At that time of Day those Prin-
ces were look'd on as extraordinary in their
D kind,

kind, and to have been perfect Examples of Virtue, and Vice. But God, who sends Governours according as he intends to prosper or punish a Nation, was pleas'd to make it apparent, that the good Qualities of the first *Cæsars* were but faint Resemblances of those in *Marcus Aurelius*. In earnest, we may venture to say that *Providence* proportion'd the Conduct of this Prince, to the Calamities of his Reign. The Times were never so Tempestuous, nor the *State* so Distress'd before : So that Humanly speaking, nothing less than such a Person at the *Helm*, could have preserv'd it. If the *Reader* expects a History of Court Intrigues, and Politick Maxims, he'l be disappointed : For I am now to write the Life of a Royal Philosopher ; that is of an Emperour who was made up of Truth, Honesty, and Religion, and who scorn'd to be govern'd by any other Rule, than that of Reason and Justice.

The Family of *Marcus Aurelius* was one of the most Noble and Illustrious in all *Italy*.

* Jul. Capit.
Eutrop. Dio.

† A Prætor was somewhat of the Nature of a Lord Chief Justice, but much greater, both in Figure and Authority.

* By his Father *Annius Verus*, he was descended from *Numa*, King, and Successor to *Romulus*. His Great Grandfather was Prætor † and Senator, and his Grandfather thrice Consul and Governour of *Rome*. His Father died in his Prætorship and left Issue *Anna Cornificia* ; and *Annius Verus*, who is the

the same with our *Marcus Aurelius*; his Aunt, or Father's Sister, *Anna Galeria Faustina*; was married to the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*. So much for his Father's Family: His Mother *Domitia Calvilla Lucilla*, was extracted from *Malennius*, a Prince of the *Salentines*: * She was Daughter to *Calvisius Tullus*, who had been twice Consul, and Grand-daughter to *Catilius Severus* who had likewise been twice Consul and Governour of Rome.

* The Territory of *Orvanto* in *Italy*. *Capitol*.

Marcus Aurelius was born at Mount *Celivus*, the 25th of April, † in the Second Consulship of his Mother's Grandfather, and from him had the Name of *Catilius Severus*. Afterwards the Emperour *Adrian* call'd him *Annius Verissimus*, in allusion to his Disposition; and the remarkable regard he so early discover'd for Honesty, and Truth. || But after his Minority was somewhat worn off, and he was admitted to put on a *Mans Habit*, * He took the Name of his Family, and was call'd *Annius Verus*, till he was Adopted by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, and transplanted into the Family of the *Aurelii*, from which time he was known by the Name of *Marcus Aurelius*. Being very young when his Father died, he was remov'd to his Grandfather; Who took such care of his Education; that as soon as he was big enough to appear out of

† An. Dom. 121. *Capitol*.

|| *Dio*.

• *Toga virilis*

the *Nursery*, he put him into the Hands of a Governour of great Merit and Integrity; and procur'd him the best *Masters* for all the Improvements of Youth. *Euphorion* taught him to Read, and *Geminus* a *Player* to pronounce Gracefully. And *Andro* was pitch'd upon to instruct him in Musick, and Mathematicks. He learned Grammar for the Greek Tongue of *Alexander*, and for the Latin of *Trosius Aper*, *Pollio*, and *Eutichius Proclus*. His Greek Rhetorick Masters, were *Annius Marcus*, *Caninius Celer*, and *Herode*; and *Cornelius Fronto* did him the same Service in *Latin*. But being of an elevated and noble Genius, and having a Passion for nothing but Reality and Truth, he spent not much time in these Studies; but pass'd on to a more significant and necessary part of Learning, and applied himself wholly to the *Stoick* Philosophy. For this purpose he entertain'd *Sextus Charonensis*, *Plutarch's Granfon*, *Junius Rusticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, and *Cinna Catulus*, who were the most Eminent *Stoicks* of that Age. He likewise had the Assistance of *Claudius Severus*, a great *Peripatetick* Philosopher.

He always paid a great Regard to his *Preceptors*, as being fully sensible of the Advantages of Education, and of the Value of that Pains which had been taken with him. This acknowledging Temper work'd so far that

that he erected *Statues* for *Fronto*, and *Rusticus*; which *Rusticus*, and *Proculus*, another of his Masters, He rais'd to the Consulship: * And the latter having no great Fortune, he furnish'd him with Money to live up to the Grandeur of his Office: † And as for *Rusticus*, he always did him the Honour to Salute him before the Captain of the *Guards*. But this was not all. For being convinc'd, that Money and Preferment, were no sufficient Return for Sense and Principles, which latter Advantages being either the first Growth, or at least the Improvements of *Instruction*; he was willing to let the World know how much he was indebted to the Care of these Great Men: The satisfying of this Obligation was the Principal Motive which put him upon Writing his admirable *Meditations*. An extraordinary piece of Gratitude This; which as 'twas an Original in him, so no body since has had the Ingenuity to Copy after it. When People have any good Qualities, they are apt to thank themselves for the getting them. To impute their Virtue to the Assistance of another, is the way, they fancy to tarnish the Lustre, and lose the Credit on't. But *Marcus Aurelius* was always a declar'd Enemy to this sort of Self-Love: This Impartiality of Temper made his Acknowledgments run high, and treat

* The highest Post in the Government.
† Capitol.

his Masters almost with the same Respect he did his *Deities*. For after their Death he erected them Statues of Gold among his *Domestick* Gods, made frequent Visits to their Tombs, and there honour'd them with the Solemnity of Sacrifices and Flowers. *

* The Romans us'd to strew the Tombs of those they had a Regard for, with all sorts of Flowers.

And since the Advantages of *Philosophy* consist in *Practice*; it must be confess'd that to perfect the Character of a good Prince, He should not be unacquainted with the Measures of *Justice*, which are so serviceable to the Publick Interest: *Marcus Aurelius* took care not to neglect so significant a part of Knowledge, he took considerable pains in the study of the *Law*, in which he was instructed by *L. Volusius Mecianus*, the most able Lawyer of his Time. †

† Capitol. Aristid. in Mar. encom. Orat. 9.

He was a Favourite of *Adrian's* from his very Infancy, who loved to have him always at his Court, this Emperour presented him with a Horse upon the Publick Charge, || when he was but six Years old; an Honour which had never been so early bestow'd upon any one before.

|| Capitol. This Equus Publicus was a kind of Knight-hood.

And it being the Custom among the *Romans* for young Persons of Quality to pass through the Priesthood, in order to qualify themselves for State-Employment, he was admitted one of the *Salii*, that is a Priest of *Mars*. * And in this Business he was so far from behaving himself as other young

* Capitol.

young People do, in an Office, Which they look upon only as a Title, and Qualification for some other more considerable Promotion ; No, he perform'd all the parts of the Function with that Constancy and Exactness, as if this *Post* had been the utmost of his Ambition. This Application made him Master of the *Musick*, and Head of the *Order*, so that during his being there, all those who were either entred into this *Society* or dismiss'd it, were always admitted, or discharg'd by him. And at these Solemnities there was no need of a *Prompter* to assist him, for he had all the Holy Forms, and Ceremonies by heart. And thus he practis'd betimes one of his own Maxims, *To do every thing according to the Rules of Art, and with the utmost Improvement.* 'Twas in this *Society* that he receiv'd the first Pre-sages of his coming to the *Throne* : For the Priests according to Custom throwing Garlands of Flowers upon *Mars's* Statue, laid upon a Couch of State, that which was thrown by *Marcus Aurelius* fell as exactly upon the Head of this pretended Deity, as if it had been put on by a Man's Hand ; Now the Crowning of this Statue was the peculiar Privilege of the Emperour.

At fifteen Years of Age he put on his *Man's Habit*, * and by *Adrian's* Order had the Daughter of *L. Ceionius Commodus* con-

Toga virilis.

tracted to him. Not long after he was trusted with the Government of *Rome*, during the Absence of the Consuls, who went to *Mount Alba* to keep the *Latin-Holydays*;

† Feriæ Latinæ Instituted by *Tarquin the Proud*, upon a Confederacy entered into with the *Latins*, &c. *Dion. Halic. lib. 4.*
‡ Capitol.

† In this Post of Authority he behaved himself with the Gravity of an Old Magistrate; And represented the Emperour with great Dignity, and Prudence. ||

His Sister *Anna Cornificia* was married to *Numidius Quadratus*; and that her Husband might not upbraid this Lady with want of Fortune, he gave her all his Paternal Estate; And also gave his Mother the Liberty of adding what part of her own Settlement she pleas'd. *

* Id.

He was not without some Fancy for the Pencil, and for this Study *Diognetus* was his Master, a Person eminent both for Painting, and Philosophy. †

† Id.

‡ Id.

He loved Wrestling, Foot-Races, Tennis, and Hunting, || not so much for the sake of the Diversion, as because he look'd upon them as a sort of innocent Preservatives of Health. Nay he went somewhat farther, and was of *Socrates* and *Aristippus's* Opinion, that the Exercise of the Limbs was not unserviceable to Virtue it self. Before his Constitution was weaken'd with Fatiguing and constant Business, he used Hunting, and would frequently ride singly at the biggest Wild Boars, and attack them with great Dexte-

Dexterity and Courage. * But his Passion ^{* Dio.} for Philosophy, got the Ascendant, and made him cool in other Diversions. This Passion seiz'd him so strongly in his very Infancy, that when he was but twelve Years Old, he put on the *Habit* of the *Stoick* Philosophers, † practis'd their Au- ^{† Capitol.} sterities, and lay upon the Ground with nothing but his Cloak under him. And his Mother had all the Difficulty imaginable, to persuade him to lie upon a boarded Bed, tho' it had nothing but a few Skins thrown over it. Nature seem'd to have made him on purpose to restore and encourage that Philosophy, which had always been most firm to the Interest of Virtue. For even in his Childhood the Equality and Gravity of his Temper was such, that neither Pleasure nor Uneasiness could ever make him so much as change Countenance. * But then ^{* id.} this Gravity having no mixture of Moroseness, was not at all troublesome to his Friends, nor to those who had Business with him : To do him Justice ; his good Qualities ne'er run out into Excess ; his Prudence in Conversation was without Pride, and his Complaisance without Meanness.

Adrian having lost *Ceionius Commodus*, † whom he had Adopted for the Empire, ^{† Capitol. Spartian. in Adrian;} and being in quest of one to supply his Place, *Marcus Aurelius* came into his Mind, but

but finding him too Young, for then he was scarcely Eighteen, the Emperour adopted *Antoninus Pius*, but with this Proviso, that he should adopt *Marcus Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, Son of *Commodus* lately deceas'd. And thus *Marcus Aurelius* was Adopted at Eighteen Years old. † The Night before this Honour, he dream'd his Hands and Shoulders were made of Ivory; and upon trial whether they would bear any great Burthen, he found them much stronger than formerly.

Capitol. Dio.
† An. Dom.
139.

The News of his being Adopted did but disturb him; And when his Domesticks ask'd him how he could receive an Honour of that Bulk, with such an Air of Dissatisfaction; He made them a long Discourse concerning the Misfortunes which perpetually attend a Royal Station.

‡ Spartian.
in Adrian.

Some few Days after his Adoption, *Adrian* went into the *Senate*, || and moved that his want of Age for the Office of *Quæstor* might be dispens'd with; This was the last Favour he receiv'd of this Emperour, who died soon after at *Baie*. *Marcus Aurelius* made him a Magnificent Funeral; And brought the Gladiators into the *Amphitheaters* to fight in honour of the Deceas'd.

After *Adrian's* Death, *Antoninus Pius* broke the Contract which *Marcus Aurelius* in Obedience to the late Emperour had made

made with the Daughter of *Lucius Commodus*, and offer'd him his own Daughter *Faustina*, precontracted to *Verns* ; But *Verns* being too young to be Married, the Emperour made Choice of *Marcus Aurelius*, whom after his having been *Questor* he prefer'd to the *Consulship*, tho the Laws were somewhat strain'd in his Favour: He likewise gave him the Title of *Cæsar*, * made * An. Dom. 140. him Colonel of one of the six Companies of *Knights*, and was present at the *Shews* furnish'd out by *Marcus* and his Fellow-Officers. He forc'd all the Honourable Distinctions of a Prince upon him, and by an Order of the *Senate* had him admitted into the College of the High-Priests.

Marcus Aurelius being constrain'd in his Genius, and rather burthen'd than pleas'd with his Promotion ; was oblig'd to be constantly at the *Council Board*, to qualify himself for the Functions of Government, but all this forcing did but increase his Inclination for *Philosophy*, in which he spent all the time he could spare out of Publick Business: This Passion of his for the study of *Wisdom*, was not a little promoted by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*: Who besides the engaging him farther by his own Example, sent for the famous *Apollonius* of *Chalcis* from *Athens* ; now the Conversation of this *Stoick* Philosopher was not unserviceable

serviceable to the young Prince. And here I can't omit the relating a Passage, the oddness of which will help us to understand the Temper both of the Philosopher, and the Emperour. As soon as *Apollonius* was arriv'd at *Rome*, *Antoninus Pius* sent him Word, *That he might come to Court as soon as he pleas'd, and his Scholar should be put into his Hands.* * To this Message the Philosopher reply'd; *That 'twas the Scholar's Business to wait upon his Master, and not the Masters to run after the Scholar.* This Answer being carried to the Emperour, he only smil'd at it, and said, *That Apollonius, he perceiv'd, found less trouble in his Journey from Athens to Rome, than in walking from his Inn to the Palace;* This was all the Notice he took of *Apollonius's* Freak, and sent *Marcus Aurelius* to his Lodgings.

* Capitol. in
Pio.

About this time the young Prince lost his Governour. The Death of this Person touched him so sensibly, that he forgot his usual Fortitude, and shed Tears upon the Occasion. And when some of the Court rallied upon him, as if he had given way to an Inconsistency, the Emperour replied, *Pray give him leave to be a Man, Nature will have its Course in some measure; in spight both of Empire, and Philosophy.*

* Id. An.
Dom. 147.

He married *Faustina* two Years after his second Consulship, * This Princess was an
extra.

extraordinary Beauty, but of too airy a Temper to be any great Blessing to her Husband; she was for living by her Mothers Example, and getting *Beaux* to admire her Person: As for the Charms of *Marcus Aurelius*, she understood nothing of them, nor had any Relish for so much Wisdom and Regularity. He had a Daughter by her the first Year after he was married, at which time he had also the *Tribunician* and *Proconsular* Authority, which were commonly the sole Prerogatives of the Imperial Crown.

To this Dignity and Grandeur, the *Senate* added another extraordinary Privilege, first invented for *Augustus*, but much enlarged in the succeeding Reigns: By the *Roman Law* no *Act* could pass in the *Senate* unless the Consul, who was the Principal Member, brought in the *Bill*: * For 'twas his Prerogative to make the first Proposal of the Matter. The Consuls relinquish'd this Right in favour of *Augustus*, and by a formal *Act* empower'd him to make his Report, as they call'd it, every Day in the *Senate*; that is to move, or propose the passing what he had a mind to, every Day of their *Sitting*.

But when People have once begun to Flatter, and Complement away their Privileges, 'tis a difficult Point to make a Halt,
and

* Vid. *Sat-*
mas. in Ca-
pitol.

and keep within Bounds. Thus this Privilege granted to *Augustus* of Moving for a new *Act* once a Day, was afterwards improv'd to succeeding Emperours, and mounted to the Liberty of bringing in three, four or five distinct *Bills* in the same compass of Time; and *Marcus Aurelius* had it in the last, and largest Extent. Now this *Prerogative* carried such a vast weight of Power along with it; that 'twas enough of it self to make all the *Sessions* of the *Senate* insignificant.

But as it happen'd this *Authority* was lodg'd in the best Hands imaginable. † For all the use *Marcus Aurelius* made of it was only to maintain the Liberties, and promote the Happiness of the People.

Farther; He never abus'd the Interest he had with the Emperour, who prefer'd none but those of his Recommendation; for he was always very careful never to mention any but such as were well qualified for their respective Employments. And here we may observe, that his Submissions to the Emperour always kept pace with the Growth of his own Authority: For he constantly paid his Imperial Majesty the same Regard as if himself had been no more than a private Person: Indeed his Affection to the Emperour seem'd daily to encrease upon him, For during his three and twenty
Years

Years at Court he never left him, nor so much as lay abroad above two Nights.

This close Attendance, together with all the Marks of Tenderness and Regard, made so strong an Impression upon *Antoninus Pius*, that he would never listen to the Suggestions of those who endeavour'd to create a Jealousy against *Marcus Aurelius*, and put him upon suspecting the Reality of his Affection. One day when he was walking in the Garden with one of his Courtiers, and seeing *Lucilla*, *Marcus Aurelius's* Mother, on her Knees in a private Place before *Apollo's Statue*; the Gentleman whispers him in the Ear, *what do you think, Sir, says he, that Lady is so earnest in her Devotions for; she's begging Apollo, that your Majesty may trip off; and that her Son may govern in your Place.* This Sentence, which had they had a Tyrant to deal with, might have been fatal both to Mother and Son, was disregarded by the Emperour, who was too well assur'd of the Good-faith and Probity of *Marcus Aurelius*, to believe any Report to his Disadvantage. The good Understanding between these two Princes, continued without the least coolness till the Death of *Antoninus*; who falling sick at *Lorium*, and perceiving himself past hopes of Recovery; order'd his Captains of the Guards, Principal Officers, and those he could

• Capitol.

could confide in, to be brought into his Bed-chamber, * And before this Company he confirm'd the Adoption of *Marcus Aurelius*, naming him for his sole Successor, without any mention of *Venus*: And the Commander in Chief coming to receive Orders, he gave him *Equanimity* for the Word; letting them understand, that by leaving such a Successor, they had all they could reasonably wish for. Immediately after this, he order'd the *Golden Fortune* to be carried into *Marcus Aurelius's* Apartment: Now this *Statue* was look'd on as an Omen of good Luck, and a kind of Publick Security, and was always kept in the Emperour's Bed-chamber.

• An. Dom.
161.

† Capitol.

After the Death of this Prince the Senate prevail'd with *Marcus Aurelius* to take the Government upon him. * And here the first Act of his Imperial Authority was to grant it to an *Assistant*; for he made *Lucius Venus* his Partner, gave him the *Tribunician Power*, the Title of *Emperour*, and an equal share with himself in the Administration. † This was the first time *Rome* was ever govern'd by two *Sovereigns*. A sight extraordinary enough in any place, especially in a Town where the Choice of a single Prince, had often occasion'd so much Confusion and Blood-shed.

The

The same day *Marcus Aurelius* took the Name of *Antoninus*, and gave it to his Colleague *Verns*, to whom he contracted his Daughter *Lucilla*. || And as a mark of their Satisfaction in this Alliance and the good Correspondence between them; they settled a considerable Fund for the support of those who were lately *Naturaliz'd*, and at that time very numerous. The two Emperours upon their going out of the *Senate-House*, had the *Guards* drawn up before them, to whom they gave a *Large* or Bounty of five hundred Crowns a Man, and proportionably to the Officers. This being done, they proceeded to the Funeral Solemnity of their Father the late Emperour, whose Corps they carried to *Adrian's* Tomb, and lodg'd it there: They likewise proclaim'd a *Vacation* out of respect to the *Mourning*; and then according to Custom went on to the *Deifying Ceremony*; which was perform'd in the manner following. * * See *Herodian's* description of *Severus's* Funeral.

In the *Palace Porch*, there was an *Ivory* Bed of State, made higher than ordinary, with a Counterpane of Gold Tissue, and upon this they laid the Effigies of the deceased Prince in Wax-work: On the left hand of his Bed, the Senators or Nobility sat all in *Black*. The Ladies of the first Quality were placed on the right hand; they appear'd in a plain white Habit, without

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any thing of Jewels, or Dressing. This part of the Ceremony lasted a Week, during which the Physicians paid their Attendance, treated the *Effigies* like a *Patient*, and always at their going away pretended the Disease gain'd Ground, and that the Symptoms grew Mortal. At last when the Emperour's Death was publish'd, a certain number of young Noblemen and Gentlemen of the best Quality, took up the Bed and carried it upon their Shoulders thro' a Street call'd the *Via Sacra*, into the Old *Forum* or *Square*, where the Magistracy used to resign their Respective Employments. Two sides of this *Square* were Scaffolded: Upon one of which there was a Choir of Youths, and on the other, one of young Ladies, and both Sexes of the best Quality: Their Business was to sing Hymns, and Funeral Poems in Honour of the dead, and that in the most Solemn, Affecting manner imaginable. These *Dirges* being over, the Nobility and Gentry above-mentioned, took up the Bed of *State* and carry'd it out of the City into the *Campus Martius*; in the middle of which Field there was upon this occasion a little wooden Pyramid built several Stories high. The first Story was made like a little square Chamber, fill'd with all sort of combustible Matter, and ornamented on the outside

side with pieces of Gold Tissue, Ivory Statues, and Paintings of the best kind: The second Story being of the same Figure with the first, but a little less, was embellish'd in the same manner, only with the difference of being open on the four sides of the Square. Above this there were several other Stories which lessen'd by degrees, till the last grew narrow to a Point. The Bed, and Effigies in Wax was placed in the second Story stuffed with Perfumes of all sorts, as Gums, Flowers, and Odoriferous Plants, the People both in City and Country striving to out-do each other in this last Respect to their Prince. This being done the Gentry march'd on Horse-back round the Pyramid in good order; adjusting the Motions of their March to the Tune of several Military Instruments which plaid to them; This sort of Tournament was follow'd by Chariot-Racing managed by young People in Habits edg'd with Purple, and disguis'd in *Visors*, which represented the Persons of the most celebrated Generals, and Emperours of *Roman* Extraction.

This Cavalcade and Racing being over, those who were to succeed to the Empire came up to the Funeral Pile, and set fire to it with Flambeaux; the Consuls, Nobility, and Gentry doing the same afterwards

in their Order. And thus all being presently in a Flame, there was an Eagle privately let loose from the top of the *Pyramid*; which immediately towring out of sight, was supposed to carry the Emperour's Soul into Heaven; who from this time was reputed a God, and worship'd accordingly.

Capitol.

After this Ceremony the two Emperours made each of them a Funeral Oration in Commendation of their *Father*, chose him a high Priest out of his own Family; set up a Fraternity of Priests call'd *Aurelians* in Honour of him, and concluded the Solemnity with playing of *Prizes*, or Combates between the *Gladiators*.

The *Deifying* of his Father was no sooner over, but *Antoninus* was crouded with Addresses from the Heathen Priests, the Philosophers, and Governours of Provinces, desiring they might have the Liberty to revive the Persecution against the *Christians*, who had been sheltred from their Malice during the Reigns of *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*. The Emperour who was no less an Enemy to Rigour than either of these Princes, and being inclinable besides to govern by their *Maxims*, would by no means hearken to this unreasonable Request: And to protect the Christians from Violence in the remoter Provinces, he wrote
to

to the Convention of *Asia*, then sitting at *Ephesus*, this admirable Letter secured us by *Eusebius*.

I'm well satisfied that the Practices of the Christians are not conniv'd at by the Immortal Gods, and that they'll take care to punish those that refuse to worship them much deeper than you can. As for the Persecutions you raise against these People upon the score of Religion, it does but fortify them the more in their Persuasion. And since they believe they lose their Lives for their God, you may imagine they'll rather wish for Death, and reckon it an Advantage. And thus they get the better of you upon the Experiment, chusing rather to dye, than submit to your Orders. As to the Calamity of the late Earth-quakes, I think it not amiss to put you in mind to compare your own Behaviour with theirs under such Misfortunes as these. Now their Reliance upon their Gods rises always in Proportion to their Danger; whereas your Courage presently sinks upon such an occasion: Indeed you seem to behave your selves ignorantly during the whole course of the Affliction; for you not only neglect the rest of the Gods, and overlook that Immortal Being worship'd by the Christians, but banish and persecute those People to Death who serve and adore him. Several Governours of Provinces have formerly written about this Business to the late Empe-

rou our Father of Divine Memory: The Answer they receiv'd was, that they should give that Persuasion no trouble, unless they found them practising against the State. Now I being willing to follow my Father's Measures, and being solicited by several Informations about this matter, my Instructions were to the same purpose. And therefore if any one for the future shall Prosecute a Christian meerly upon the Account of his Religion, the Christian shall be discharg'd, and the Prosecutor punish'd. This Letter was publish'd in the Temple when the Convention, or Common Council of *Asia* was sitting.

This Order was obey'd, and the Empire seem'd to be all over settled in Peace and Prosperity. Indeed the beginning of this Reign was so happy and undisturb'd, that one would almost have thought the very Soul and Reason of *Antoninus Pius* had been Transfus'd into his Successors: Which was the more to be wonder'd at, since in reality there was nothing more different than the Temper and Inclination of these two Princes.

Marcus Antoninus was settled and certain in his Humour, unpretendingly Grave, and not without a Mixture of Affability and Complaisance: He was both Merciful and Just, and no less Indulgent to others than Rigorous to himself; Deaf to the
Charms

Charms of Vanity, immovable in his Enterprizes, and Resolutions, which were never fix'd and taken up without Mature Deliberation; being never swayed by Passion and Freak: He hated busy Informers, was Religious without Affectation, untransported and free from Eagerness upon all occasion; always under an Equality of Temper, always Master of himself, and resign'd to the Reason of the Case; a perfect stranger to Disguise and Dissimulation, and always upon his Guard against the Excesses of Self-love; never uneasy nor impatient, very inclinable to pardon the greatest Crimes against himself; but not to be prevail'd on where Reasons of State and Publick Interest required Severity. His Laws had a Regard to the common Advantage of all Ranks and Nations under his Government; neither could any Prince be more tender of the Property and Privileges of the *Subject*. The Good of the Commonwealth was always his Rule to act by, from which he was never diverted by any Private Fancy, Interest, or Ambition of his own. To conclude, since his Designs were only to oblige Mankind, and Resign to *Providence*, he never strain'd his *Politicks* to the Prejudice of his *Morals*, but always kept within the compass of Justice and Truth,

Lucius Verus had none of these good Qualities; his Inclinations were eager, unballasted, and lewd; 'tis true, he could not be tax'd with the Savage Fancies and Barbarities of some Tyrants, and that was the best of him. But this Contrariety of Temper did not appear in the first Years of their Reign. The irresistable Merits of *Antoninus* made some Impression upon his Brother, insomuch that the Motives either of Shame or Gratitude, gave check to his Humour, and kept him in Order, while they liv'd together. Nay he pretended to Copy after this Prince, and imitate the Prudence of his Conduct: To give him his due, he manag'd himself in every respect as if *Marcus Antoninus* had been sole Emperour. For *Verus* treated him with the same Respect, or if you please with the same Submission which a Deputy-Governour gives to a *Proconsul*, or a Governour of a *Province* to the Emperour himself. But 'tis a difficult matter to keep Vice under any long Restraint. This force served only to heighten Desire, and therefore *Verus* took care not to lose the first Opportunity of throwing off the Disguise, and shewing himself in his Natural Colours.

Commodus was born at the latter end of this first Year of *Antoninus's* Reign. The Birth of this Prince, who proved a scandal

dal to Human Nature, was usher'd in with all the terrible Calamities imaginable. * * Lamp. in Commed. The overflowing of the Tyber led the way: The Inundation of this River was so violent, that it over-turn'd a great part of *Rome*, swept away abundance of Cattel, ruin'd the Country round about, and occasion'd an extraordinary Famine. † The † Capitol. two Emperours stept in immediately to the Relief of the People, supplied the Necessities of those who had suffer'd, and repair'd the Damages with all the speed that was possible. After this Inundation there happen'd Earthquakes, great Fires in several Cities, and an universal Infection of the Air, which produced such an infinite number of Insects on the suddain; that what little Forage the Floods had left was destroy'd by this Plague: And at the same time the whole World seem'd to be up in Arms, and the Miseries of War were just breaking in from every Quarter. The *Parthians* headed by their King *Vologeses*, surpriz'd the *Roman* Troops in *Armenia*; and cut them in Pieces; from thence they marched into *Syria*, and forced the Governour *Attilius Cornelianus* to quit the Country: The *Catti* ravaged *Germany*, and the Country of the *Grifons* with Fire and Sword; and the *Britains* were just upon the Verge of an Insurrection.

Calpurnius

Calpurnius Agricola was dispatched against the Revolt in Great Britain, *Ausidius Victorinus* against the *Catti*, and the Parthian Expedition was reserv'd for *Verns*, who left the Town some few days after. *

• Capitol.

Marcus Antoninus being by the posture of Affairs, obliged to stay at Rome, went with *Verns* as far as *Capua*, treated him with all the Regard imaginable, and gave him several of his Favourites, and Principal Officers to attend him; which was done possibly to observe the Motions, and secure the Conduct of this Prince, or it may be, 'twas only to raise his Figure, and make his Court appear more Magnificent; or lastly, which seems more probable, it might be design'd as a Check upon his Extravagance; and to keep him from flying out by the Authority of the Company. But all these Precautions signify'd nothing. For *Verns*, who was now quite tired with Dissembling, was not at all over-aw'd by the grave Retinue which *Antoninus* had given him. As soon as this Emperour was out of sight, *Verns* was resolv'd to knock off the Shackles, for now he had neither Fear, nor Fancy to continue Restrain'd any longer: Now he suffer'd his Inclinations to strike out; forgot the Defeat of the Roman Legions, took no notice that Syria was ready to Revolt, but launch'd into Vice immediately,

immediately, and went all the Lengths of an Infamous Liberty; carrying his Debauchery to such an Excess, that it threw him into a dangerous fit of Sickness at *Canusium*. This News being brought to *Rome*, *Antoninus*, tho' just come thither, set forward to visit him. But before he began his Journey, he made *Vows* for his Brother's Recovery in a full House of the *Senate*; which upon his Return he very Religiously perform'd, after he understood that *Verns* was Embark'd.

This young Prince's Wildness recover'd with his Health, and his Sickness prov'd no sufficient Discipline to Reform him. He pursued his Debaucheries in his Voyage; and upon his Arrival in *Syria*, he made a halt at *Daphne*, part of the Suburbs of *Antioch*, and here he perfectly forgot himself to all the purposes of Virtue, and Sobriety. This place, by reason of the Temperature of the Climate, the Deliciousness of the Gardens, Fountains, and Groves, invited the Men of Pleasure thither, and was grown the very Seat, and Sink of Debauchery: Insomuch that People of Virtue and Reputation, were almost asham'd to be seen there. *Verns* encreas'd the Scandal of this *Daphne* by such Improvements in Lewdness, as were meer Discoveries to the Inhabitants, tho' otherwise the greatest *Libertines* on the Face of the Earth. In

* Capitol.
in Vero.
An. Dom.
163, 164,
165.

* Dio. lib.
17.

In the mean time this Emperour's Generals fought the *Parthians* with great Success. * *Statius Priscus* took *Artaxata*: *Cassius* and *Martius Verus* routed *Vologeses*, made themselves Masters of *Seleucia*, sack'd and burnt *Babylon*, and *Ctesiphon*, and pull'd down the Noble Palace of the *Parthian* Kings. These Victorious Troops which had done such brave Exploits, and beaten an Army of five hundred thousand Men, had a worse Enemy to encounter at their Return, * and were half of them destroy'd by Sicknefs, and Famine. This Mortality lay so hard upon *Cassius's* Army, that by that time he had reach'd *Syria* he was able to muster but a very few. However, these Misfortunes made no Impression upon *Verus's* Vanity, who immediately took the Title of Conqueror of *Armenia* and *Parthia*; as if he had fairly won all this Honour by keeping out of the *Field*, and Debauching at a distance.

Marcus Antoninus, who pretended to know nothing of these Sallies, was of Opinion that Marriage was the most likely Expedient to Retrieve him: His Daughter therefore *Lucilla* contracted to *Verus*, and one of the most Beautiful Ladies living, was immediately put into the Hands of *Antoninus's* Sister, in order to embark for *Syria*, the Emperor seeing them on their way, as far

far as *Brundisium*. 'Tis said he once design'd to go along with her to *Verus*, but chang'd his Resolution upon a Report being spread, that the meaning of this Progress into *Syria* was only to get the Honour for himself, of putting an end to the *Parthian* War. He staid at *Brundisium* till the Princess was embark'd, and wrote to the *Proconsuls*, and Governours of Provinces, not to meet, nor attend her upon her Journey, telling them that the usual Cavalcades and Solemnities upon such Occasions, serv'd only to crowd the People to Death.

Verus, who expected *Marcus Antoninus* would come through, and make him a Visit, and being afraid he should hear of his Disorders, left *Daphne*, and went to meet his Brother Emperor at *Ephesus*, from whence he departed some few Days after the Solemnity of his Marriage, and return'd to *Antioch* with his Empress; and here this great Lady soon learn'd to imitate the Liberties of *Verus*, and was too conformable to the Example her Mother *Faustina* had set her.

Verus having made a King of *Armenia*, and gain'd an entire Conquest over the *Parthians*, * return'd to *Rome*, and had his share in the Honour of a Triumph, with *Marcus Antoninus*. His Return was likely to have been very Calamitous to the

Capitol.

Capitol. in
Vero.

* An. Dom.
167. or 168

the whole Empire, for he brought the Plague along with him, and left it in all the Places he marched through. The cause of this Pestilence was supposed to proceed from the following Accident. Upon the taking of *Babylon*, the Soldiers breaking in to *Apollo's* Temple to plunder it, found a little Golden Cabinet under Ground, which was no sooner open'd, but such a strong Dose of Infection flew out on't, that it poison'd the Air to a vast Extent, and carried the Mortality from *Mesopotamia*, as far as *Gaul*. But this Conjecture apart, 'tis more probable the Plague was bred by the Famine and Diseases in *Cassius's* Army, at his Return from the Defeat of the *Parthians*.

About this time the *Germans* revolted, made an Irruption into *Italy*, and put the Country under Military Execution. *

* An. Dom.
168, 169.
† He was
afterwards
Emperour.

Pertinax † a Man of known Bravery, tho' by the ill Offices of some Envious People his Fidelity being suspected, neither his own Merit nor the Interest of his Friends, could ever prefer him any higher than to the Command of some Auxiliaries; this Person, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Courtiers, was pitch'd on with his Friend *Claudius Pompeianus*, to make head against this terrible Invasion, which threatened as far as *Rome* it self. *Antoninus* made them both his Generals, and was resolv'd they

Dio.

they should share with him in the Honour of this Expedition. *Pertinax* being highly sensible of the Favour of this Trust, took care that the Emperour should have no Cause to repent it; and gave no less Proof of his Honesty than of his Experience, and Courage. In short, the *Romans* charg'd the Enemy briskly, who receiv'd them in good Order, and fought with great Resolution. The Fight was obstinate, and held a great while, but at last the *Germans* were cut in pieces; and which is remarkable, they found a great many Women in Armour amongst the Dead, who fell fighting by the sides of their Husbands and Children.

Thus a great Victory was gain'd, and the *Roman* Army had behav'd themselves exceedingly well; However, the Emperour ^{Dio.} was not to be prevail'd on by any unreasonable Demands; and therefore when the Soldiers petition'd him to raise their Pay, he refus'd them with this Answer; "That
" to give them Money extraordinary for
" the Success of the Battle, was in effect
" to Tax the Corps of their Parents and
" Relations, and to set an *Excise* upon
" their Blood, for which he was answerable to God Almighty, the only Person
" to whom Princes are accountable. Indeed, let the Difficulty of the Juncture be
what

what it would, he was always Master of so much Fortitude, and Prudence, as never to be over-ruled beyond Justice, either out of Fear, or easiness of Temper.

id. Upon this Success he was proclaim'd *Emperour* the fifth time, the Victories of *Venus* having given him the same *Title* four times before. The Night before the Battle, a Spy being taken in the Camp, was brought to his Tent. And the Emperour having a mind to examine him, the Man told him; *I am so very Cold that I can't speak, therefore if you would know any thing of me, you must first order me some Cloths to my back, if you have any.* The Emperour was not at all displeas'd with his Bluntness, but gave him what he ask'd for, and so let him go.

id. And here we must not forget the Exploit of a private Soldier, who standing Centinel one Night on the bank of the *Dannbe*, and hearing the Voice of some of his fellow Soldiers, whom the Enemy had taken by surprize on the other side, he immediately swam the River in his Armour, disengag'd his Comerades, and brought them off with him into the Camp the same way.

* They dwelt in the Country now call'd *Bohemia*,

The Year following there broke out a much more dangerous War than that which they had finish'd. The *Marcomanni*, * and the

the *Quadi*, a very warlike People rais'd a great Army, at which the *Romans* were extreemly dispirited; being in a very ill Condition to resist so powerful an Enemy, at a time when the Plague raged violently both in Town and Country, and swept away vast Multitudes. The Emperour was the only Person not in Despair, his Confidence lay in the Protection of *Heaven*, for which he endeavour'd to qualify himself in the first Place, by the offering of Sacrifices : He made a Procession round about the *Town*, and the Statues of the Gods being laid upon Couches, * a great Entertainment was serv'd up to them in their Temples ; and for fear any acceptable part of Worship should be omitted, all foreign Religions were taken in, and Priests sent for from almost every Quarter : And which is still more strange, he restor'd the *Solemnities* of *Isis*, which had been Prohibited ever since the time of *Augustus* ; and made no scruple to worship that Goddess, whose Temple had been pull'd down in the Reign of *Tiberius*, the Decorations burnt, her Statue thrown into the *Tiber*, and her Priests knockt on the Head. There was so much Cattel sacrificed upon this Occasion, that some satyrical People, whose Tongues are never to be tyed, made a Jest on't; and said, that if the Emperour should

* The Romans used to eat in that posture.

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have

have the good luck to return Conquerour, he would scarcely be able to find a piece of Beef for the Gods in the whole Empire.

Capitol. in
Vero.
• An. Dom.
169.

Thus when the Religious part was finish'd, he set forward against the Enemy, and took *Verns* along with him; * who would gladly have been left at *Rome* to have carried on his Debauchery, but this *Antoninus* was willing to prevent. The two Emperours therefore marched directly for *Aquileia*, and immediately after their Arrival, made up to the *Marcomans*, who lay entrench'd not far off; and here they forc'd their Camp, and routed them with a great Slaughter. In this Fight *Farinus Victorinus*, Captain of the Guards, with some of the best Troops, was cut off. However, this did not discourage the two Emperours from pushing their Point, and going on with their Advantage; In short, they press'd the Enemy so hard, that at last their Army grew Mutinous: Upon which the greatest part of their Confederates drew off their Forces, kill'd those who advised the Revolt, and sent to beg Peace of the *Romans*. *Verns* being satisfied with their Submissions, and fond of the Liberties of the *Town*, was earnest with *Antoninus* to grant them their Request, and march home. *What greater Advantage, says he, can your Majesty hope for than this offer? Have you a mind to force your*
Ene-

Capitol. in
Vero.

Enemies upon some desperate Attempt, and shew them the Weakness of the Empire whether they will or no? Let us rather manage their Ignorance, and make the most of their Consternation, and give them leave, while they are dispos'd to't, to think more of a Retreat, than a Revenge. To this Antoninus answer'd, That there was no trusting to these Barbarians, that their pretence of Submission was only to gain time; and keep the Storm from falling upon them: That 'twas the Interest of the Empire to make Advantage of the Misunderstandings, and Disorders amongst them, and not give them leisure to agree, and rally all their Forces upon the Romans, when probably we shall be still in a worse Condition to receive them; and having thus deliver'd his Opinion, he immediately order'd his Troops to march.

*The two Emperours pass'd the Alps, pursued the Enemy, and defeating them several times, dispers'd them entirely at last, and return'd without any Considerable Loss. Winter being now pretty forward, they resolv'd to go into Quarters at Aquileia; but the *Plague forc'd them to alter their Measures, and go off with a few of their Troops. Upon their March, Verus was seiz'd with an Apoplectick Fit near Altinum, whither he was carried, and where he died soon after; his Body was convey'd to Rome by*

Capitola

* Galen Att
Dom. 170.Capitol. in
Vero.

Capitol. in
Marc.

Antoninus, who shew'd him the same Funeral Respect which had been paid to the Emperour his Father; and ne'er scrupled to make a God of him.

* Capitol.
in Marc.

I grant we have reason to believe that *Antoninus* was well enough satisfied with his Death; such a Supposition is no less than what may be expected from the Prudence and Gravity of this Prince, and from the tender Regard he had for the welfare of his People. But that, as a certain Historian adds, * He should publicly own his Satisfaction in a Speech of Thanks to the Senate, this is altogether incredible. However, that Author will have it, that the Emperour hinted to the House, that the *Parthian War* had never been so happily ended, had it not been manag'd by his Direction and Advice; and then declar'd, That having now the Sovereignty wholly in his own Hands; and no longer embarrass'd with a debauch'd Assistant, he would alter his Measures, and begin a new Reign. Now *Antoninus* was too Modest, and too Wise to talk at this rate; such Discourse was neither suitable to his own Maxims, nor to the Character he gives of *Venus* in his first Book, nor in fine to the purport of his Speech, the design of which was to thank them for ordering the Apotheosis of *Venus*. His Enemies no doubt set this Report about, to give some Colour to
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Capitol.

another Calumny which they spread at the same time, that the Emperour having discover'd the Design of *Verus* to poison him, prevented him in his Plot, help'd him to a Dose, and practis'd his own foul Play upon him : Or as some said, prevail'd with his Physician to bleed him to Death. The suspicion of such a Practice being too gross to stick upon *Antoninus*, a great many People threw it upon *Fauslina* ; giving out that this Princess had reveng'd her self by Poison upon *Verus*, being enraged against him for betraying the scandalous Correspondence between them to his Empress *Lucilla*. But the most general Opinion was, that *Lucilla* was the Person that put him into this Mortal Fit ; for not being able to endure the Passion *Verus* had for his own Sister *Fabia*, and being less concern'd at the Loss of her Husband's Affection ; than at the haughty Behaviour of her Sister in law, who with an Insolence proportionable to her Lewdness, abus'd her Interest with her Brother, and treated the young Empress with Neglect : For this Reason *Lucilla* chose rather to level her Revenge directly against *Verus*, than against her Rival, concluding from the proud Humour of *Fabia* ; that to tumble her down in this manner from that Criminal height of Greatness, to which her Incest had raised her, would be

Capitol. in
Vero.

the severest Punishment imaginable ; For being thus reduced to a private Station ; and having no Countenance of Royal Authority to support her, she would be no longer in any Condition, to dispute Quality with the Daughter, and Widow of an Emperour.

After the *Deification* was over, *Antoninus* being Apprehensive least the *Town* should be infected with a worse *Mortality*, than that they had lately felt, by the Lewdness of those Manumis'd Slaves, who had the Ascendant over *Venus* in *Syria* ; and serv'd him in his Debaucheries ; he resolv'd to remove them from the Court ; And to do it in a manner that might least reflect upon his Brother's Memory, He sent them off with considerable Offices into distant Countries ; and thus tho' they seem'd prefer'd, they were no better than decently Banish'd : In short, he kept none of them with him but *Electus*, of whom he had a much better Opinion than of the rest.

The Liberty, and Disorders of the War reviv'd the old Malice of the *Heathens* ; who taking no notice of the Emperour's Orders, began to persecute the *Christians* in the remoter Provinces. St. *Polycarp* was the first that was sacrificed ; the Flames of whose Martyrdom serv'd for a sort of Beacon to light up the *Persecution* in *Gaul* and *Asia*.
Tis

'Tis pretended that *Antoninus* had a Hand in't. For upon the Lord Deputy of *Gaul's* writing to the Emperour to know his Pleasure about some Christians in Custody, his Answer was, *that he would have him execute those who confess'd, and discharge the rest.* But here 'twas none of his intention to make the owning of *Christianity* Capital; his meaning was only that those should suffer who could not clear themselves of the Crimes charg'd upon them. For the Governours of Provinces, and inferiour Magistracy, perceiving that the only way to oppress the *Christians*, was to asperse their Innocence, and surprize the Emperour by Misinformation; Upon this View, they used to load the *Indictment*, and make the pretended Criminal as black as possible; the Particulars of which they took care to specify in their *Packets* to Court; and to fortify the Evidence, transmitted the Depositions of some bribed, or frightened Slaves, who being set upon the Rack, confess'd what they had a mind to. And thus having gain'd a general *Order* by misrepresenting Matter of Fact, they explain'd it to their own Humour, and did what Mischief they pleas'd. And don't such Mismanagement as this sometimes happen under the best Emperours? Don't their Viceroyes, Generals, and Magistrates often abuse
F 4 their

their Power, and misbehave themselves in their Posts of Jurisdiction? And would it not be unreasonable to charge the Violence, and Injustice of the *Ministers*, upon the misinterpreted, and misapply'd *Orders* of the Prince? He that considers the Circumstances of *Time*, and *Place*, together with the Temper of *Antoninus*, his Good Nature, his Justice and Resolution; he that considers this can never believe that he would set a Persecution on Foot after having so long, and so Publickly declar'd against it? that he should do it when he was sole Sovereign, and at a time too, when the Plague and the War, had almost dispeopled the Empire. How can this pretended Severity be reconciled with the Emperours Maxim, that *those who miss the Truth, are mistaken against their Will, and deserve more to be pitied than hated*: * To conclude; we have one certain Argument more that *Antoninus* was no *Persecutor*; because there were no Martyrdoms at *Rome* during his whole Reign and Residence; nor so much as one drop of Christian Blood shed within the *Bills of Mortality*.

* Book xi.
Sect. 18. &
alib.

Before the Year for *Venus's* Mourning was expired, † *Antoninus* married his Daughter again to *Claudius Pompeianus*; this Person was somewhat old, and no more than the Son of a Private Gentleman; but

† An. Dom.
170.

but then he had all the Recommending Qualities imaginable, and was fit to be prefer'd to the highest Posts of Trust and Honour : His Fidelity and Courage, his Probity and old Grave way of Living, his Experience, and his Reputation too, were all extraordinary. These Considerations made the Emperour chuse him before Noblemen of the best Quality and Figure ; for Virtue, and Merit were the Things he most valued, and always prefer'd to Fortune and Birth. The young Empress and her Mother were not over-much pleas'd with this Match ; but *Antoninus* having taken care that his Daughter should not suffer in her Privileges, nor sink in any part of her Quality, they both of them were satisfied at last. As for *Faustina*, she was of Opinion her Daughter had lost nothing, as long as she was continued in the Title, and State of an Empress ; And *Lucilla* who had a mind to have her Liberty, and follow her Fancy, was somewhat pleas'd that she had taken rather a Valet, than a Husband.

Thus *Antoninus* having put his Daughter into good Hands, set forward to put an end to the War against the *Marcomanni*, who having now the *Quadi*, *Sarmate*, *Vandales*, and other Nations for their Confederates came on more Fierce and Formidable than before : The Wars against *Hannibal*,

bal, and the Cimbri, did not carry more Terror along with them : In some of the first Disputes, the Emperour had the worst on't : For probably 'twas in this War, that that Defeat was given to his Troops, which had likely to have cost him the Loss of Aquileia, which happen'd in the manner following.

Alexander, who pretended to Prophecy, and whose Life is written by *Lucian* ; * had so great a Reputation at that time, that People look'd upon him as a kind of a Deity : This Impostor had the Confidence to send the Emperour this Oracle in Verse.

* *Lucian. in Pseudoman.*

*Gurgitibus fluvii turgentis ab imbris Istri
Immisse duos Cybeles edico Ministros ;
Monte foras alitas ; tum quantum alit In-
[dicus aer
Florum atq; Herbarum beneolentum ; moxq;
[futura est,
Et Victoria, pax & amabilis, & Decus ingens.*

† Two
Lions.

*Two Slaves of Cybel's, † with Arabian Sweets,
Let them be thrown into the Ister's Stream ;
This Water-Sacrifice will rout the Foe,
And bless the Empire with a glorious Peace.*

Baron. ad
Ann. Chr.
171.

Antoninus comply'd with the Oracle either out of a Superstitious Principle, or else to satisfy the Army, whose Spirits he believ'd

liev'd would be rais'd by such an Expectation. The two Lions were accordingly thrown into the River, with a great Quantity of Sweet Herbs, Flowers, and Gums. These Lions had no sooner cross'd the River, but the Enemy knock'd them on the Head. Soon after the Battel began; and the *Romans* were so ill handled that they lost above twenty five thousand Men, and were pursu'd as far as *Aquileia*, which had certainly been taken by the *Barbarians*, had not the Emperour rallied his Troops and perform'd the part of a brave and experienced General. And now the Dishonour his Men had receiv'd, fir'd their Courage, and made them fight the better inso-much that they routed the Enemy, and at last drovethem out of *Pannonia*. *

While this War was depending, the Moors harass'd *Spain*; and the *Egyptian* Heardsmen as they were call'd, being a sort of *Banditti*, run to Arms, and being headed by a Priest, and one *Isidorus*, a stout Fellow, † surpriz'd a *Roman* Garrison. The Stratagem was this. They disguis'd themselves in their Wives Cloaths, and pretended their Business was to pay the Governour of the Fort a Sum of Mony. This Officer being over Credulous, fell into the snare, and had his Throat cut, with the rest of the Garrison. Thus flesh'd with Success the Rebels,

* Hungary.
An. Dom.
170 171. or
as some say
An. Dom.
168.

† Dio.

Dion. in
Marc. lib.
lxiii. Capi-
tol. 21.
Volcat. in
Cass. 6.

Rebels, sacrificed a Prisoner, and over his reeking Bowels, which they eat afterwards, swore themselves deeper into the Revolt, and that they would never desert their Party. Upon this, they encountred the *Roman* Troops, and defeating them several times, had made themselves Masters of *Alexandria*, if *Antoninus* had not order'd *Cassius* who commanded in *Asia*, to march against them. *Cassius* was too weak to attack these *Barbarians*, who were both very numerous, and very desperate, and led on by a Person of extraordinary Courage: However, he was lucky enough to make a Misunderstanding in their Camp, which Advantage he manag'd so well, that at last they were routed, and dispers'd.

Capitol

The Moors in *Spain* had no better Success than the *Egyptians*, for the Emperour's Generals cut off a great part of them, and clear'd the Country of the rest.

In the mean time *Antoninus* follow'd his blow against the Rebels in the *North*, and fatigued them to that degree, by gaining almost every Day considerable Advantages upon them; that at last he made them come too, and submit to his own Terms; and then returning to *Rome* he kept the Solemnity of the *Decennalia*, * and observ'd those Religious Ceremonies which were usual upon the occasion.

* The Emperours every tenth Year of their Reign used to keep a Religious Festival.

During

During the Peace, the Emperour employ'd himself in reforming the Laws, and correcting the Faults in the Administration. To give some Instances. First, To the end that those who were Free-born, might never be at a loss to prove their Privilege, he order'd every Citizen in *Rome* to go to the *Treasury* in *Saturn's Temple*, where the Publick Records were kept, and there give an Account of the number of his Children; ^{Capitol;} and in the *Provinces* also he set up *Offices* to Register the Births in every Family.

He very wisely Prohibited all Enquiries ^{d. 10.} into the Circumstances and Condition of the Dead, after the Term of five Years. And that Malefactors might not be too long unpunish'd, nor the Subject suffer so much by the Interruption of the *Holy Days*; he follow'd *Augustus's* Precedent, and lengthen'd the *Law Term*; so that now the *Courts* sat two hundred and thirty Days in the Year: This Method had too good Consequences; for thus Causes were dispatch'd with more Expedition, and a great many Temptations to Idleness, and Debauchery, remov'd out of the Peoples way.

He took particular care of the Concerns of *Minors*, and erected a new Court for that purpose; the Judge of it was call'd *Prætor Tutelæ*, because he assign'd *Guardians*, and tried all the Causes depending
be-

between them and the *Infant*. He likewise made a Supplemental Provision to the *Law* call'd *Lex Latoria* ; which order'd a sort of *Guardians* * to Adult *Minors* only in Cases of Distraction or Debauchery, whereas all such Persons were now to be under that check without Exception.

* *Curatores.*

He was so careful to prevent unlawful Marriages, and to keep People from running within the Prohibited Degrees, that he null'd a Marriage of many Years standing between a Woman of Quality, † and her Uncle, but at the same time declar'd the Children Legitimate. The Emperour's *Rescript*, or Order sent to this Lady by a Manumis'd Slave, is still extant ; It runs in the Name of *Verus* and *Antoninus*, and is very well worth the inserting.

† Her Name was *Flavia Terentia*.

The long time you have been married to your Uncle, || the Number of your Children, and your being dispos'd of by your Grandmother at an Age when you were not capable of understanding the Laws, and Customs of our Empire, are Considerations of Weight with us ; all these Reasons concurring, prevail upon us to allow your Issue, by this Marriage of forty Years standing, the Quality, and Privileges of their Family, and to make them as much Legitimate, as if they had been born in lawful Wedlock.

|| *Digest. Lib. 23. Tit. 11. 57.*

Capitol. 11.

He moderated the Charge of Publick Solemnities, and Entertainments, and lessen'd the

the Number of the *Roman Shews*, that by this means he might hinder his Subjects from being over-fond of trifling Diversions, and prevent their Ruin by such unnecessary Expence, and which was often manag'd so unluckily, as to create Mortal Feuds between the best Families. He likewise regulated the *Players* Salary, and order'd it not to exceed such a Sum.

He took great Care to keep the Streets, Id. 9. and High-ways in good Repair ; He reform'd the Abuses at *Auctions*, and restrain'd the *Bankers* from taking unreasonable Interest. He very much mollified the Rigour of the *Law* by which *Aliens* who were either *Legatees*, or *Heirs* were oblig'd to pay the twentieth part of what fell to them, into the *Exchequer* ; tho' this burthen had been in some Measure made lighter by the Emperour *Trajan*. He also provided that Children should inherit their Mothers Estates, who died *Intestate*.

The *Romans* had a Law that those who were not Originally *Italians*, in case they stood for any Office at *Rome*, should be oblig'd to lay out a Third of what they were worth upon Land in *Italy*, that so they might look upon that, and the *Town*, as their own Country : *Antoninus* relax'd a little upon this Point, and bound them to no more than a Fourth.

He

He was particularly careful of the Honour, and Interest of the Senate. For he not only remitted a great many Causes to the *House*, which used to be tryed at the *Council Board*; but also impower'd them to give Judgment without Appeal. He commonly reserv'd the Offices of *Ædiles* * and *Tribunes*, or *Treasurers*, for those Senators who were decay'd in their Fortunes, provided they were not grown poor by their Vice and Extravagance. 'Twas never his way to receive any Person into this Order, without the Consent of the whole *House*, nor then till he had strictly enquired into his Character. When any Nobleman was tried for his Life, he always took care to be fully inform'd of the Matter alledg'd against him, and never suffer'd any *Commoner*, tho' of the best Rank, to be concern'd in Causes of this Nature. His Custom was to come to this *Senate*, or *House of Lords*, as often as his Affairs would give him leave, tho' he had nothing to move; And when he had any Business to propose, he made no Difficulty to come up to *Town*, from the remoter Parts of *Italy*. The greatest part of the Curators * of Towns, were chosen by him out of the *Senate*; being perfectly of *Augustus's* Mind, that a Prince by raising the Character of the chief Magistrates; makes his own Figure shine out
the

* The *Ædiles* set forth the Publick *Shows*, regulated the Weights and Measures, survey'd the Buildings, Highways, &c.

Capitol.

* Somewhat like our Mayors, and Aldermen.

the better, and fortifies the Royal Authority, which neither can, nor ought to stand upon any other than a Just bottom.

His Regards for the *Senate* did not prevent his Favours coming down to the Inferiour Magistracy, nor indeed from reaching the Subject in general. He never thought any Persons, let their Condition be never so mean, beneath his Concern; his care stoop'd even to the *Gladiators*, and *Ropedancers*; ordering the first to fight with *Foins*, or Buttons upon their Swords; and that the other should have Feather-beds, or Mats spread under them, to prevent the danger of a Fall; and from hence the Custom began of hanging Nets under the *Rope* a great while after.

He made very severe Laws to secure the Privilege of Burying-places, and to prevent the defacing of Tombs, and Monuments; he likewise order'd that the Poor should be buried at the Publick Charge: And how inclinable he was to pardon a Malefactor, we may learn from the following Instance. A Captain of a Troop of *Banditti*, who had a mind to be plundering of *Rome*, bethought himself of this Opportunity. He goes into *Mars's Field* in the Suburbs, climbs a wild Figtree there, and entertains the Mob with abundance of Prognostications, telling them withal that upon such a day when they saw

G him

him fall off the Tree, and turn himself into a Stork, the Sky would rain Fire, and lay the World in Ashes : The People, being generally given to Superstition, and over-credulous, swallow'd this Prophecy with a great deal of Belief, and Admiration ; and in the mean time the Camerades of this Figure-flinger, made their Advantage of their Folly, and strolling from home. When the Day for this terrible *Metamorphosis* was come, the Knave drops off the Fig-tree, and in the Tumble, lets a Stork loose out of his Bosom with a good cleanly Conveyance, and then dives himself out of sight in the Crowd ; The *Mob* were strangely amaz'd at this Miracle, and expecting a shower of Fire would come powd'ring down upon them, made a great hubbub, and confusion in the City. The Emperour being inform'd of this Adventure, had the pretended Prophet brought before him ; and after having gotten the Truth out of him upon promise of Pardon, he was as good as his Word, tho' notwithstanding his Stoical Gravity, he could scarcely forbear laughing at the Fellows Roguery.

He made use of all sorts of Expedients to reform the Misbehaviour and Disorders among Women, and young People of Condition ; not knowing how much his own Family was concern'd in these Misfortunes.
For

For he was still ignorant of the Liberties taken by his Empress *Faustina*; as we may easily perceive by his Letters to her a little before her Death : And besides, we have reason to believe, that had he been acquainted with her Irregularities, he would rather have made use of proper Remedies, than conceal'd the Injury : Indeed we can't suppose him capable of so scandalous an Indulgence, especially since such Abuse of Families was severely punish'd in Private Persons by the *Roman Laws*. I grant a certain Historian is of another Opinion, who reports, that when the Emperour was advis'd by some of his Friends to be Divorc'd from *Faustina* upon the score of her ill Conduct, he made Answer, *I must return her her Fortune then* ; Now this jest of an Answer, has taken mightily, and gone a great way in Peoples Belief.

Vid. Salmas
& Casaub.
in Capitol.
c. 6.

I am not ignorant of the Risque a Man runs in opposing his Private Sentiment against Authority and common Belief. However since there is but one Historian who delivers this Passage, and even he none of the most considerable for Indifferency, Judgment, and Exactness, one may very well imagine that the Credit of this *Sentence* is not so much owing to its own Truth, as to the Negligence and Inadvertency of those that took it upon Trust. For granting the

Capitol. 4.

Empire was really *Faustina's Portion* ; as we must suppose in Favour to the Historian, this *Answer*, notwithstanding, would have been improper, and unworthy the Character of *Antoninus* ; who scorn'd to hold the Empire of the World, by such a scandalous *Tenure* : But then the Empire's being *Faustina's Dower* was so far from Matter of Fact, that it was really settled upon *Antoninus* before there was any Prospect of this Marriage : For when *Adrian* Adopted this Emperour, he oblig'd him to a Contract with the Daughter of *Lucius Commodus*.

* At a certain Play where the Emperour was present, One of the Actors ask'd another, What was the Name of the Ladies Gallant, or Whore-Master : The other made Answer as it were with some little Difficulty of Recollection, *Tullus, Tullus, Tullus*. He that

That Satyrical Stage-Jingle upon the Name of *Tertullus*, when the Emperour was at a Play, proves nothing ; For *Antoninus* had no necessity of taking this Jest * to himself, there being enough besides to justify the Application.

The appearing in great Cities in a Coach, a Horse-litter, or on Horse-back, was already Prohibited by *Adrian* : This Law was reviv'd by *Antoninus* under express Penalties : For he could not endure a Circumstance peculiar to *Triumph* should grow cheap by common Usage ; And that the Subject should take the Liberty of an Equipage, which even the Emperours declin'd unless upon extraordinary Occasions.

put the Question, being impatient to know the Name, replies, *what say you ? I told you, says his Friend in the Dialogue, Ter Tullus*, that is, I have repeated *Tullus, ter or thrice*, which is as much as to say the Man's Name is *Tertullus*, Capitol. 20.

He

He was fully persuaded that the preferring unworthy Persons to the Magistracy, was one of the greatest Misfortunes that could happen to a Prince. And thus taking all possible Precaution to prevent such a Mischief from himself, he never made any Difficulty to deny an unreasonable Request: A Person of a very ill Reputation having beg'd an Office of him, he gave him this Answer; *Purge your self first of those bad Reports that go of you:* To this the Man presently replied, *Sir, I know several Judges as great Rakes as my self.* The Emperour took no notice of his Boldness, but made it his Business not to give any Occasion to such Reproaches for the future.

When he found any Person qualified to serve the Publick, he gave them their due Commendation; and put them into such Posts as they were fit for; upon such occasions he us'd to say, *That tho' a Prince* ^{Dio.} *could not make his Subjects what he had a mind to, yet 'twas in his Power to turn them to Account,* by employing them in such Business as they understood. No sort of Consideration could make him over-look Merit, and Capacity in any Person. Nor did ever any Prince delight more in making the Fortune of his Friends. Some of them were rais'd by him to the highest Posts in the Government; And those who had pitch'd

Capitol. in
Pio. 7.

upon a Condition of Life which lay out of the way of Employment and Office ; he took care to present them largely, and settle such Pensions upon them, as might make them amends for the Privacy of their Station ; and for their voluntary baulking themselves in their Interest, and Honour ; But at the same time he always avoided the granting of Pensions to such as were perfectly Insignificant to the Commonwealth : Not forgetting the wise Maxim of his Father *Antoninus Pius*, who used to say, *That 'twas a shameful Piece of Injustice to let those People feed upon the Publick, who were too lazy to serve it.* As for the Poor, they never applied to him in vain ; And the relieving of them was so great a Pleasure to him ; that he look'd upon it as one of the greatest Happineſſes of his Life, never to have been unfurnish'd for this Purpose ; * And returns Thanks to the Gods for this constant opportunity of doing Good.

* Book 1.
Sec. 17.

Capitol. 24.

In the punishing Part his Method was to mitigate the Sentence, and go lower than the rigour of the *Law*. He was so exact in the Business of *Justice*, especially in Criminal Causes, that he reprimanded one of his Judges severely, for slubbering over a Tryal of some Persons of Fashion, and condemning them in a hurry : He made the Judge grant the Prisoners a new Tryal, and

and told him withal, *That the least thing*^{Id. 12.}
which a Magistrate commission'd for Justice,
could do, was to have Patience to hear what
People of Condition could say for themselves.
Another Judge having misbehav'd himself
in a Cause of great Concern; the Empe-
rour instead of turning him out, made him
lye by a little, and assign'd his Jurisdiction
to a Brother of the same *Bench*. In short, he
left no Expedient untryed to discourage
People from doing amiss, and to engage
them to their Duty. He rewarded their Me-
rits, screen'd their Failings, and corrected
their greater Faults, by such a Temper of
Discipline, as carried more Advantage than
Rigour along with it.

As none of the Actions of Princes are
without Force and Example, but do either
a great deal of Good, or Mischief to their
Subjects, so *Antoninus's* making *Philosophy*
his Inclination, had likely to have been ve-
ry prejudicial to the *Romans*: For now the
Empire was almost over-run with pretend-
ing *Sages*, who to sponge upon their Prince,
took the Habit and Title of *Philosophers*;
but left the good Qualities behind them;
insomuch that they were not only burden-
some to Private Families, but even to the
State it self. The Emperour being sensible
of this Disorder, put a stop to it, For now
the Sham-Philosophers were thrown out of

all Privilege and Favour granted to that Faculty, and none but Men of approv'd Virtue, Character, and Merit, taken into the College.

* The Roman Emperours used to try Causes themselves.

See Book 4. Sect. 2.

Capitol. 10.

He us'd to say that an Emperour ought never to precipitate any Business, nor dispatch it, as it were *En passant*, and that Negligence in little Matters, is sometimes an occasion of great Mistakes. When a Cause was before him * he always used to give the Lawyers what time they desired in their Argument: For he look'd upon it as a very rash and unadvis'd Method, to limit a Hearing to so many Minutes, without knowing the Extent, or the Importance of the Matter to be alledg'd, Especially since Patience is one part of *Justice*; And that 'tis much better to suffer the *Long Robe* to plead twenty things Foreign and wide of the Case, than to hinder them from saying one that's Material, and to the Purpose. He used the same Care and Exactness in smaller Causes, as in those of the greatest Concern, it being his Maxim that *Justice* ought to be uniform, and hold out to the whole length of her Administration, and that nothing relating to Right and Wrong was little. And thus he would sometimes spend ten or twelve Days upon a *Trial*, and keep the Council at the *Board* till Night; neither would he ever leave the Senate, till

till the Consul had dismiss'd the *House* in this Customary Form, *My Lords, we have* ^{Dio.} *no more trouble to give you*: And which made all this Patience and Application the more Remarkable, his Constitution was but weak, he could not bear the least Cold, nor venture himself with any more than a slender Meal, which he always eat at Night, and took nothing in the Day-time but a little Treacle to secure his Stomach. But none of these Disadvantages could make him indulge, or neglect any of those Publick Functions, which, as he us'd to speak, the Character of a Prince, and Legislator, oblig'd him to.

He could not endure Trifling, but coun- ^{Capitol.} ted it a great Crime to throw away the least Minute to no Purpose. That time, which in Compliance to Custom, he spent at the *Publick Shews*, was not altogether lost; for even then, 'twas always his Method either to Write, or Read. In his Voyages and Expeditions, and when he was most embarrass'd with Business, he made the usual Intermissions for Sleep, and Recreation, turn to some very significant Account. These Intervals he generally employ'd in conversing with himself, in examining his Conduct, the State of his Mind, and the Quality and Condition of his Enterprises; 'Tis to this Vigilance, and Care of himself, that

that we are indebted for his Excellent *Meditations*. By the Date of his two first Books, we are inform'd that the one was written at *Carnuntum*, and the other in his *Camp* amongst the *Quadi*, when the Emperour was engag'd in the most formidable War of his whole Reign. This great Frugality of Time produced several other Pieces which have fallen short in the Conveyance. The loss of his *Commentaries*, or the History of his Life, which he left for his Son's Instruction; is that which is most to be lamented.

'Twas always his Opinion that the Credit and Security of the Government depended chiefly upon Good Measures; For this Reason he would never undertake any thing in War, or Peace, without the Advice of his *Privy Council*; and which is more, not without consulting those who had the best Reputation for Sense, whether *Courtiers*, *Burgbers*, or *Senators*: And here he was so far from the Vanity of dragging the rest into his own Opinion, that he was always glad of a reason to follow the *Board*, and used to say; *'Tis much more accountable for me to resign to the Advice of such great Men who are all my Friends, than that so many Wise Heads should be over-rul'd by my single Opinion.* And to cure that common, but dangerous Mistake, which makes it uncre-
ditable

ditable to yield up an Opinion, he has left us this significant Truth in one of his Meditations, *That a Man that goes in to the Sentiment of another, is no less at his Liberty than if he had stuck close to his first Thought; For 'tis purely his own Sense and Judgment that prevails with him to alter his Mind.*

He counted it a great Crime to warp the least from Veracity and Good Faith; and to prevent being surpriz'd by the false Reasoning of those *Politicians* who pretend, that a Wise Prince is not to be tyed to his Engagements, when they disserve his Interest; that promises are only Things of Course, nothing but handsome Baits to catch the unwary; to keep these Knavish Principles from getting within him; He lays down this admirable Maxim, which all Princes are concern'd to take notice of; *Take especial care (says he) never to count any thing an Advantage that will force you, at one time or other, to break your Word.**

* Book 3.
Sect. 7.

As reasons of State directed; He frequently chang'd the Governours of *Provinces*, taking those into his own Hands which had been managed by *Proconsuls* in behalf of the Senate and Commons, and giving them others govern'd by Deputies and Viceroy's Commissionated by himself: And here, according to *Augustus's* Rule, he gave the People such *Provinces* as he could most confide

confide in, and receiv'd those of which he was less assur'd.

Capitol. 20. He loved to be thoroughly inform'd of what People said of him ; not to punish those who took too much Liberty, but to learn what was liked, or dislik'd in his Management ; The use that he made of Publick Censure, or Commendation, being only to recover a false step, or go on in a Defensible Method, with better Assurance. And when his Administration, or private Conduct were blam'd without Reason, his Custom was to reply to the Charge either by Letter or Word of Mouth ; not so much to justify himself, as to undeceive those that spread the Report, and acquaint them with Matter of Fact.

He would never admit of those overgrown Ambitious Titles, which us'd to be given to other Princes, nor suffer any Temples or Altars to be built for him ; Being fully convinc'd, that the Flattery of the Subject signifies nothing in true Greatness, that 'tis the peculiar Privilege of Virtue, to raise up a Monarch to the Gods ; and that a Prince remarkable for Justice ; has the whole World for his Temple, and all honest Men will be his Priests to worship him.

Capitol. 22. The *Marcomanni*, whose Submissions were only to deceive the Emperour, and make their Advantage by his drawing off, levied

levyed Forces again, and Menaced higher than ever. This Enemy had now enlarg'd their Confederacy, and made themselves more formidable than before, by being re-inforc'd with all the Nations from *Illyricum* to *Gaul*. * On the other side, the *Roman* * From Slavonia to the Rhine. Troops were very much lessen'd both by Plague, and Service, and the Exchequer quite exhausted by a long War, insomuch that the Emperour found himself in greater Difficulties than ever. The first part of this Misfortune was remedied by lifting the *Gladiators*, the *Banditti* of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, and the *Slaves* too, which was never done since the Second *Punick* War. And here 'tis very remarkable to observe, that the *Romans* were very loath to lose their Diversions, to save their Skins: They were mighty warm to have their *Fencers* discharg'd: The Streets were crowded with Tumults, and they were perpetually bawling out such Sentences as this; *What? Capitol. 23: must we be condemn'd to Sense in spite of our Teeth? Are we all to be made Philosophers; and must never see any Prizes, and fine Sights any more?* The Emperour was not in the least shock'd with this Disturbance; he was no stranger to the Temper of the People; he knew very well, that tho' they made a Man a Brute one Day, they'd make a God of him the next, provided he maintain'd

* See Book
4. Sect. 16.

Plin. in Pa-
negyr.

Capitol.
Eutrop.

tain'd his Ground, and stood firm to a rea-
sonable Resolution. *

The main Difficulty of raising Mony was still behind ; which by a Prince of *Antoninus's* Goodness was not so easily master'd : For he could not endure the Thought of laying any new Taxes upon the People. The best and quickest Expedient for a Fund, which he could pitch on, was to follow the Precedent of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and sell the Furniture of his Palaces. Now the Subject being not allow'd to have their Houses so richly Furnish'd, or be serv'd in Gold, or Silver Plate like the Emperour ; to promote the Sale therefore, *Antoninus* was forced to permit Persons of Quality to make their Figure and Equipage, as magnificent as they pleas'd. Upon this Liberty the *Auction* began ; and all the best of the Crown Jewels, Paintings, Chrystals, Plate and Hangings, together with the Empress's Wardrobe, were set to Sale, and so were a vast number of rich Pearls in *Adrian's* Cabinet. Now the *Romans* who were too poor to carry on the War, to secure their Country, and assist a brave Prince, found Money enough to buy his Furniture : This *Auction* lasted two Months, and rais'd such a vast Sum, that the Emperour was plentifully supply'd for the Charge of the Campaign. At his coming home he publish'd

lish'd a Proclamation to let them know, it would be kindly taken if they would return the things at the Price paid for them, but forc'd no body to part with them against their Will.

Before he took the Field he lost his youngest Son *Verus Caesar*; This Prince was but seven Years old, and died of an Impostumation in his Ear, the Physicians lancing the Tumour before 'twas Ripe. He bore this Loss like a Man of Fortitude, would not suffer *Jupiter's* Holy Days, which happen'd at that time, should be disturb'd by a Publick Mourning, spoke kindly to the Physicians, and paid them well for their Attendance; and was satisfied in getting a Golden Statue voted for his Son, which he order'd to be carried about in a Pompous manner at the *Circensian* Diversions; and that the *Salii** should make a Panegyricall Poem in honour of the Deceas'd: These Ceremonies being over, he reassum'd his Business, and took care of the Government, and having beg'd the Assistance of the Gods by Sacrificing, and Devotion, set forward against the Enemy.

This Expedition was much longer and more Troublesome than all the rest. The Emperour being come up to *Carnuntum*, which he made his Head Quarters, pass'd the *Danube* upon a Bridge of Boats, at the Head

Capitol. 22.

* Priests of Mars.

Head of his Troops, marched on to the Enemy, beat them in several Disputes, and burnt their Villages; Upon which several great Lords of the Confederacy being amaz'd at the Progress of his Victories, came in, and submitted. One Day as he was searching in Person for the Ford of a River which stop'd his March, and was a sort of Fortification to the *Barbarians*; the Enemy's *Slingers* on the other side the Water, discharg'd such a Volee of Stones upon him, that he had certainly been lost, if his Men had not immediately come up and cover'd him with their Shields. This surprise serv'd only to make the Army advance with greater Resolution; so that passing the River in a Heat, they power'd in upon the *Barbarians*, and made a great Slaughter of them. After the Rout, the Emperour went to view the Field of Battel, not to boast of his Victory, nor entertain himself with a bloody Spectacle; but to weep over the Wounds and Misfortune of the Dead; and to preserve those who were not past help; and before he marched any farther he offer'd Sacrifices upon the Place.

Dio. Baron:
Annal. ad
Ann. Chri-
sti. 176.

The *Quadi* concluding, and that reasonably enough, they should be pursued, left some Companies of Archers, supported by a Body of Horse, to skirmish with the

the Enemy, and pretend to dispute the Ground: And here the *Romans* press'd on with more Courage than Caution, a fault not uncommon in those who have the better of the Day. They attack'd the Archers with great Vigour, who according to Orders gave way; and counterfeiting a hasty Retreat, drew the *Romans* into a sort of *Defile*, and enclos'd them between a Ledge of steep and sandy Mountains. The Emperour's Men, not perceiving the Danger they were in; and thinking nothing too hard for their Bravery, fought very briskly at first, notwithstanding the Disadvantage of the Ground: The Enemy were not so eager to push the Point, but stood barely upon the Defensive, being unwilling to run a hazard for an Advantage, which a little Patience would put into their Hands. The *Romans* were at a loss to explain this Conduct, till the excessive Heat pent in between the Mountains, their Wounds, their Weariness, and their Thirst, made them sensible of their Error. Then, when 'twas too late, they understood, that they could neither Retreat, nor Fight, that they must either be scorch'd, and parch'd to Death, or have their Throats cut by the Enemy. And now things were brought to that Extremity, that neither Anger, nor Despair could

H raise

raise their Spirits: The Emperour who was much more concern'd for their Misfortune than his own, rid about the Army, and endeavour'd both by Persuasion and Sacrifice to reassure them, and retrieve their Courage: But they had no Faith in their Devotions, and neither Rhetorick, nor Religion, signified any thing. And now being harra's'd, and just spent by the Heat of the Weather, the Enemy prepar'd to attack them: So that expecting no manner of Relief either from their Courage, their Fortune, or their Gods, they look'd upon themselves as just ready to be Sacrificed: And now when there was nothing but Groans and Howling to be heard, and Things appear'd in the most lamentable Condition imaginable, all on the suddain the Sky was over-cast, the Sun shrowded, and a prodigious Shower powr'd down upon their Camp. These poor Wretches, who look'd more like Ghosts than Men, and had scarcely strength to stand on their Feet, were somewhat reviv'd at the sight of this unexpected Rain; and imagining they should find more of it by marching farther, press'd forward, and at the same time held up their Mouths, their Head-pieces, and their Shields to catch the Water.

The

The *Romans* were too busy in quenching ^{Dio.} their Thirst, to mind Discipline, and keep their Ranks; And thus their Forces being in some Disorder, the *Barbarians* not willing to lose the Opportunity, charg'd them on all sides. The *Romans* fought and drank at the same time; And many of them swallow'd down their own Blood, which running from their Wounds, mix'd it self with the Water they had provided.

Notwithstanding this seasonable Relief their Case was very desperate, for still there was no hopes of holding out against the Force and Fury of the Enemy: when by another extraordinary Providence no less surprizing than the former, the same Clouds which refresh'd the *Romans* with Rain, discharg'd a storm of Hail, mix'd with Thunder, and Wildfire, in a terrible manner upon the *Barbarians*. And thus while the first quench'd their Thirst at their Leisure, the other were burnt, and almost roasted by a Fire which was past their Skill to Extinguish. Some Historians report, that when any of this Wild-fire happen'd to light upon the *Romans*, it did them no disservice, whereas on the other hand, the Rain which fell amongst the *Barbarians*, was like Oyl thrown into a Furnace, and made the Flames rage the fiercer; inso-much that they cried out for Water to

cool the scalding of the Rain: Nay 'tis said many of them wounded themselves, to try if they could put out the Fire with their own Blood; And that abundance of the rest came with their Wives and Children, and surrendered to the *Romans*, that they might have the Benefit of that miraculous Showr which was so favourable to them. Those who yeilded were treated with great Clemency by the Emperour; But the Soldiers, who were more intriged at the Affront they had receiv'd than affected with the Danger they had escap'd, cut all in pieces that durst make any Resistance, routed the rest, and took a great many Prisoners.

Dio. Lam-
prid. in He-
hogabal.

The Means and Occasion of this Deliverance are variously reported. Some said that one *Arnuphis*, an *Egyptian* Magician rais'd this Storm, at the Emperour's Instance, by the Strength of his Enchantments. For who can imagine that amongst such a number of *Heathens* over-grown with Folly and Superstition, there should not be a great many very forward to give away the Honour of the Miracle to their own Religion? But this Conjecture is easily confuted by *Antoninus* in his first *Book* * where he tells us, that he was better Instructed than to be led away with the *Impostures of Wizards, and Figure-slingers, who pretend*

pretend they can Discharge Evil Spirits, and do strange Feats by Virtue of a Charm.

Others who had a great Opinion of the Capirol. 24. Emperour's Virtue and Piety, which indeed were Extraordinary, imputed this wonderful Rescue to the Prevalency of his Prayers. To confirm this, 'tis said when the Day was just upon the Point of being lost, the Emperour lifting up his Hands, address'd himself to Heaven in this manner : *O Lord the Author of Life, I humbly implore thy Assistance, and lift up those Hands to thee which were never stain'd with Human Blood.*

The great pains the *Heathens* took to carry off the Honour of this Miraculous Event, proves thus much at least, that we have no reason to question the Matter of Fact. However, if we wanted this Testimony, the Truth of the History may be proved by other Records of unquestionable Credit. Not fearing therefore the Censure of being over-credulous, or having a mind to support the Christian Religion by Fable and falshood : An Artifice of which our Holy Faith has no manner of need ; Being satisfied, I say, of the Truth, I shall produce the Evidence : And here I desire to know with what fair pretence of Reason the Fact can be doubted when 'tis vouched by Authors who lived at the

Xiphilin.

same time : The Relation is this. The Captain of the Guards having acquainted the Emperour, that God never denied any thing to the Christians, that he had a great number of that *Persuasion* in the *Melitene* Legion, a Town of *Cappadocia*, and that he thought it adviseable for his Majesty, to try if their prayers could disengage him, since there was nothing to be expected from any other Quarter ; upon this the Emperour order'd these Christians to be brought before him, and desired them to pray to their God for him : Which being done, their Prayers were immediately heard, and by the strange Distinction, and Pointing of the Storm, 'twas demonstrably apparent that they belong'd to the true God, who had the Winds and Thunder at Command, and had often delivered his Servants by such an extraordinary Interposition.

Tertull.
Apol. cap.
5. ad. Scap.
6. 4.

Antoninus being too just to stifle the Miracle, wrote to the *Senate* in favour of the Christians, and order'd those should be punish'd with Death, that inform'd against them ; A very clear Argument that he believ'd the late Deliverance was all of it owing to their Prayers. *Tertullian*, and several other *Writers*, about the same time mention this *Letter*, and argue upon it ; which they durst not have done had it not been well known, and unquestionably Authentic.

thentick. For a Forgery of this kind, would only have serv'd to enflame the *Persecution*, and make their Cause so much the worse. But the preserving this Record would have been too great a blow to the Heathen Religion. This Spirit of Falshood and Imposture, was no doubt the occasion that this noble Testimony for *Christianity* was destroy'd. As to the *Letter* in *Justin Martyr's* Works under this Name, 'tis an apparent Counterfeit; neither was there any true Copy Extant a great while before the time of *Eusebius*.

Those Authors are likewise mistaken, who report this Legion of *Melitene*, was call'd the *Thundring Legion*, upon the score of the Miracle. For the *Thundring Legion* was rais'd by *Augustus*, and had that Name given it because of the Figure of a Thunderbolt upon the Soldier's Shields.

And now the Army * proclaim'd *Antoninus* Emperour, the seventh time; this Honour he accepted this bout, tho' twas not his Custom to do so, till it had been first mov'd, and voted by the *Senate*: The Empress *Faustina* also had the Title given her, of *Mother of the Militia*. †

The very Night after this remarkable Day, the Emperour drew off from this dangerous Ground, and seizing a Post of Advantage intrench'd his Men. And here

Vid. Baron
ad Ann.
Christ. 176.
Scalig. in
Euseb.
Chron

* Ann.
Dom. 174.

† Mater
Castrorum.

allowing the Army some Days for Refreshment, and having receiv'd certain Intelligence of the Motions, and Countenance of the Enemy, he held a Council of War, in which 'twas resolv'd to pursue them. This Design being executed, he found them encamp'd beyond a River, and their Camp Fortified and Flank'd with Villages on each side. His Troops passing the River in spite of the Resistance of the Slings and Archers, attack'd the *Barbarians* briskly, who after having stood the first Shock, and lost their best Men, gave way and Retreated. And here the *Romans* made a horrible Slaughter of them, the Field was all strew'd with Carcasses, and the greatest trouble the Emperour had was to check the heat and fury of his Soldiers, who as weary as they were, seem'd to Refresh themselves by cutting the Throats of the Enemy. There was a great Number of Prisoners taken, and *Antoninus* had some of their Kings brought in Chains to him, with their Wives and Children.

After this Victory the Emperour march'd his Army to the River *Granua*, * which parts the *Quadi* from the *Jazygian Sarmatae*, the most warlike Nation of all the *Barbarians*; Beyond this River there was another, and the *Sarmatae* were encamp'd upon the ground between them.

The

* From this Place the Emperour dates his first Book, and probably it lay in some part of the lesser Tary.

The *Thundring Legion* being order'd to march first, made their way over a Bridge of Boats, and planted their *Colours* upon the Bank of the second River; and the *Sarmatians* that oppos'd them were almost all either drown'd or kill'd: In the mean time the whole Army pass'd, and *Antoninus* after having first sacrific'd, mark'd out his Camp between the two Rivers, and order'd the throwing up Retrenchments. The *Barbarians* being surpriz'd at his Success, dispatch'd Ambassadors to him, but their proposals proving too short, *Antoninus* bid them sound a Charge, and drew out his Men against the Enemy. The *Thunder Legion* again pass'd the River first in the Emperour's Sight, and attack'd the *Jazygian* Cavalry with so much Bravery, that they forced them to wheel off, and Ride for't. Upon this the *Romans* were Masters of the Field, and Forage, and brought off a great many Prisoners and Cattle: And all the Neighbouring Inhabitants sent their Submissions to *Antoninus*, and beg'd a Peace of him. He receiv'd all their *Hostages*, and having Intelligence that the great Men of their Country, were according to Custom met in a solitary Place for Consultation; he ordered his Troops to march, and mov'd with so much speed and Conduct, that he surpriz'd the *Barbarians*

rians before they had any notice of his Approach. They were astonish'd at so unexpected a Sight, and being more amaz'd than frighted, threw themselves at his Feet. The Emperour sent them off into his Camp, and advanc'd with the best of his Forces to attack their Army, which was encamp'd between a Fen cover'd with Reeds on one side, and a Forest on the other. The fight was obstinate enough, and the *Romans* Blood was so heated upon this Occasion; that after they had broken the *Sarmatians*, kill'd a great many of them, and set all the Country on Fire, they went Questing with Flambeaux to pick up the Enemy that were hid in Forests and Marshes. And here *Antoninus's* Behaviour was so remarkably Noble, that 'tis more for his Honour than the Victory it self: For he went in Person into the Woods, and amongst the Reeds, to preserve those poor Wretches, encouraging them to trust his Clemency, and surrender themselves.

All these Advantages were not sufficient to put an end to the War; there was still wanting a more compleat Victory for a finishing stroke. But this was a hard matter to come at, in regard the *Barbarians* always fought with Reserves, and would never venture their Fortune with their whole Force. *Antoninus* perceiving the best part of
of

of the Season was over, spar'd no pains to bring the Expedition to a Point : And therefore without losing time in treating with Ambassadors, sent to him from all Quarters, more for Amusement, than Submission, he chose rather to make up to the Place whither they had withdrawn their best Effects, and where their main Body lay encamp'd. This Enterprize was so much the more hazardous, because the March was long, the Ways almost Impracticable, his Troops perpetually harass'd by the *Barbarians*, insomuch that they were forced to move very slowly, for fear of falling into an Ambuscade, or fighting upon ill Ground for want of knowing the Country. But these Difficulties at last were all luckily got over : And *Antoninus* came up to the Place where the *Sarmatians* lay encamp'd, between the *Ister* which was frozen over, and a great Wood. And having concerted how to attack the Enemy in such a Post of Advantage, he drew up his Army in *Battalia*, the *Barbarians* did the same : And thus the Charge being sounded, the *Romans* threw their Darts, and powr'd in upon the Enemy, who receiv'd them with great Courage. The Fight was long and smart, and the *Romans* being almost asham'd to find so much Resistance, exerted themselves with
unusual

unusual Bravery, and press'd the *Sarmatian* Cavalry so hard, that at last they were forced to give way, and retreat to the *Ister* : And here making a stand upon the Ice, the Imperial Infantry came immediately up with them. And now the Fight was renew'd with greater Fury than before ; for the Enemy perceiving the *Romans* not used to fight upon Ice, and scarcely able to keep their Feet, concluded they would not abide the Shock : Presuming upon this Advantage they immediately rallied, and charged them on all sides. *Antoninus's* Infantry were shaken a little at the first onset, and had been absolutely lost had not the Soldiers reliev'd themselves by a new Invention in the use of their Shields : These they threw upon the Ice to stand firm with one Foot ; And having thus recover'd themselves, they made head against the Enemy, seiz'd their Bridles, catch'd hold of their Bucklers and Lances, and pull'd them so close to them, that at last they were drag'd off their Horses. For these *Barbarians* having but slight Armour were in no Condition to resist the *Romans*, who were well arm'd *Cap a Pie*. In short, of all this vast Number of *Sarmatians*, but a small Party escap'd, by running off into the Forest, or into some Camp they had fortified. The Emperour not
losing

losing time in the pursuit of those that fled, attack'd them in their Retrenchments, and carried his Point notwithstanding a stout Resistance of the Enemy, who look'd upon these Posts as their last Refuge and Security, and defended them accordingly.

After this Victory, *Antoninus* puts his Army into Winter-Quarters, and retired to *Sirmium* * himself; that being the nearest, and most convenient Town for the Service of the War. During his stay here, he heard the Impeachment of *Herodes*, † † This *Herodes* was the famous Rhetorician who had been Preceptor to *Marcus Antoninus* and *Vernus*. prosecuted by *Demostratus* and *Praxagoras* in behalf of the *Athenians*; And likewise the Complaint *Herodes* preferr'd against these Commissioners. They charg'd *Herod* with an Insolent and Tyrannical Management in his Post, and having had an intimate Correspondence with *Vernus*, they made broad Signs as if he had been privy to the pretended Conspiracy of that Prince to Poyson *Antoninus*. On the other Hand, *Herodes* accus'd *Demostratus* and *Praxagoras* of an Attempt to raise the Mob upon him. These Enemies of *Herod* were encourag'd under-hand by the *Quintilians*, who having the Government of *Greece*, had a great Interest, and were glad of any occasion, to revenge an Affront put upon them by *Herod*: For this Orator having formerly mentioned the great Honour, and
Promo-

Promotion the Emperour had bestow'd upon them, cited a Verse from the *Iliads*, and made a Jest upon their Country by Allusion, they being Originally of *Troas*, *This Homer's Jupiter*, says he, *is not to be indur'd for loving the Trojans at this rate.* This Jest did much more harm to him that spoke it, than to those'twas broke upon. For the Countenance of the *Quintilians* was by no means unserviceable to *Demostratus*, and *Praxagoras*, for

Philostr. in
vit. Herod.

Philostr.

The Emperour and the Empress admitted them several times into the *Presence*, heard them upon the Subject of their Commission, and treated them with so much Distinction, that *Herod* took notice of it, not in the least doubting, that *Antoninus* favour'd the *Athenians* in Complaisance to *Faustina*, and at the Instance of one of his Daughters, who appear'd for them. Thus *Herod* being disturbed with Jealousy, and extreamly troubled for the loss of two fine Slaves (whom he call'd his Daughters,) just kill'd with lightning, being thus ruffled to a degree of Rage and Impatience, away he hurries in the Morning to the Emperour, and behaving himself with a great deal of Passion, insolently tells him, *Thus I am rewarded for my Trouble with Verus, whom you sent for Instruction to my House ! Call you this Justice to sacrifice me*
to

to the Humour of a Woman, and a little Girl? At this the Captain of the Guards was just stepping forward, either to take him by the Collar, or cut his Throat; but was prevented by *Antoninus*, who without either changing Countenance, or showing the least sign of Dissatisfaction, turn'd to the *Athenians*, and told them, Gentlemen, you may open your Cause and go on with it, notwithstanding *Herod* is not at present in the Humour to hear you: *Demostratus* harangu'd, and argued with so much Force, that he drew Tears from the Emperour, who finding the Manumis'd Slaves of *Herod* most in fault, let all his Displeasure fall there, tho' according to his usual Clemency, he did not go to the Rigour of the Case with them neither: The Father of the two young Women, that were kill'd with Lightning had his Punishment wholly remitted; for he was sufficiently punish'd already, the Emperour said, by the loss of his two Daughters.

Those who report that *Herod* was banish'd to *Epirus*, seem'd to mistake his residing a great while at *Oricum* in that Country, for a Banishment; occasion'd by a long Sickness he was seiz'd with, at his return from *Pannonia*. * For in earnest which * Hungary way can we reconcile this Exile with *Herod's* Letter some little time after to the Emperour,

Emperour, in which he takes the Freedom to Expostulate, why his Majesty did not do him the Honour of his usual Correspondence by writing? And tells him, that *he had formerly received three Couriers from him in a Day, and desires to know whether that time was never to come again?* This Opinion is farther confuted by *Antoninus's* Answer, in which he calls *Herod his Friend*, and after having just mention'd his Winter Quarters, express'd his Grief for the Death of his Empress, and given some Account of his own ill Health, he adds, *I wish with all my Heart that this may find you well, that you would not question the Continuance of my Kindness, nor fancy I have done you any wrong by punishing some Malefactors, who were used more favourably than they deserv'd: Pray don't let this Matter trouble you; and if I have disoblig'd you any other way, or given you the least Uneasiness; I would have you demand Satisfaction of me in Minerva's Temple at Athens, at the Initiating Mysteries; For notwithstanding the Heat of the War, I am very desirous of being Initiated there, and would gladly have the Ceremony perform'd by your self.* A Prince does not use to write in this manner to a banish'd Subject.

As soon as the Spring came on, *Antoninus* not being willing to give the *Barbarians* time to raise new Forces, took the
Field

Field to prevent them. And having pass'd the *Danube* he fought the Enemy several times and routed them; insomuch that at last despairing to make Head against a General so remarkable for Courage, Conduct, and Indefatigable Industry. They sent to beg a Peace, and offer him Hostages. So that now all his time was taken up in giving Audience to Ambassadors, and in receiving a great many Kings who came in Person to do their Homage. The King of the *Sarmatians*, whom we may imagine was no small Prince, restor'd him a hundred'd thousand *Roman* Prisoners, which he had taken, and gave him eight thousand of his Troops, the greatest part of which were sent away against the *Britains*. And here the Emperour adjusted the *Articles* to the Temper of the People he had to deal with; and either rais'd or relax'd the Rigour of the Terms, according as he found the People more or less inclin'd to a Revolt: And now they were all dispos'd to comply with what was put upon them; insomuch that the Country of the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*, had all been made *Provinces* of the *Empire*, if the News of *Cassius's* Rebellion had not happen'd, who was so hardy as to assume the Imperial Stile, and set up for himself in *Syria* at the same time. This News was a sur-

Dio.

prize upon the Emperour, and rais'd the Spirits of the *Barbarians* ; who valuing their Liberties much above their Honour, took Advantage of the Juncture, and obliged *Antoninus* to soften the *Articles* in a great Measure, and to make a New Treaty, much more in their Favour than that they had sworn. And this in all likelihood is the Reason, why *Antoninus*, contrary to his Custom, omitted the recital of the Conditions of this Peace, in a Letter which he wrote to the Senate to acquaint them with his Proceedings.

Volcat. in
Cassio.

The Design of seizing the Empire could never have been projected by a Person more likely to succeed than *Cassius*. For, to give him his due, he was qualified in all Points proper for his Purpose. The Victories won by him in *Armenia*, *Arabia*, and *Egypt*, had gain'd him the Esteem and Love of the Soldiers. To give some part of his Character ; he was very stout in his Person, and firm to his Resolution, admirable at Fatiguing, and no less a Libertine in his Pleasures when he thought them seasonable ; prodigal of his own Fortune, and wild to make himself Master of another Bodies: His Qualities were govern'd by his Interest, and he was either Goodnatur'd, or Severe, Profane, or Religious, as occasion serv'd. He had improv'd the Natural Crafti-

Craftiness of his Temper by Practice, and Pains : He had an extraordinary Talent to guild his Character, and cover his Deformities, to conceal Vice, and Counterfeit Virtue : He was the Man that restor'd the old Discipline in the Army, in the exacting of which he was so severe, that he call'd himself *Marinus* the second, and would never be persuaded to pardon the least Fault. ibid.

To give some Instances of his Rigour : He always executed his Soldiers immediately, who took any thing by force from the Town where they kept Garrison. When he had the Command of the Army in *Germany*, some of the Auxiliaries happen'd to surprize a Detachment of three thousand *Sarmatians*, by the *Danube*, very much in Disorder. Upon this Advantage they fell on, and cut them in Pieces : But *Cassius* instead of Rewarding the Captains of these Companies, had every Man of them Crucified ; letting them know that they had no Liberty to fight without Orders. For how could they tell but that they might have fallen into an Ambush, and expos'd the Arms of the Empire to an Affront : Besides the Authority and Force of Discipline must be lost this way. * This Severity was look'd upon a most Tyrannical piece of Cruelty, and occasion'd a terrible Muti-

* Vid. Papyr. apud Liv. Lib. viii. 34.

ny in the Camp. *Cassius* hearing a Tumultuous Noise, steps out of his Tent unarm'd, and coming up to some of the most daring Mutineers, with a menacing Look, speaks sternly to them, *Soldiers*, says he, *you'd best murther your General, and add Villany to your Ungovernableness.* This bold stroak frighten'd the *Soldiers*, who are most afraid where they are least fear'd, and dishearten'd the *Enemies*; who concluding that an Army under such exact Discipline, where even a Victory out of Rule was punish'd, must needs be invincible, made it their Business to negotiate a Peace.

Volcat. in
Callio 5.

Ibid. 6.

Farther, *Cassius* was the first who order'd the Hands of Deserters to be chop'd off, or their Hams cut, and forbid the *Soldiers* carrying any other Provision but Bacon, Biscuit, and Vinegar. He muster'd his Men every Week, examin'd their Arms, and their Cloaths, and oblig'd them to be *Exercised.* For 'twas a shame, he said, *since Wrestlers, and Fencers were always practising in their Faculty, that Soldiers should not be used to Training, who when they are kept in constant Exercise find it much more easy than otherwise:* He would not endure any thing of Luxury, or unnecessary Accommodation in the Camp; And when any Soldier was catch'd in a Fault of this kind, he would
not

not suffer him to go into *Quarters* all the Winter: This Rigour in Discipline made *Antoninus* give him the Command of the Legions which *Venus's* Expedition had Debauch'd in *Syria*; upon this occasion the Emperour wrote the following Letter to one of the Governours of his *Provinces*.

I have given Cassius the Legions which the Luxuries of Syria and Daphne have made good for nothing, and which Cesonius Vec-
tilianus found perfectly emasculated, and almost drown'd in the hot Baths. I persuade my
self you will like my Fancy, especially since you know Cassius to be a Commander of great
Strictness, and that he comes up to the Discipline of the old Cassii. You remember the famous Verse in Ennius, who was no ill Poet.

*Volcat. in
Cassio. 5.*

*Go back for Discipline to former times,
Old Customs are the Nations main support.*

All that I have to desire of you is, that the Army may not want Provisions, and if I understand Cassius, I dare engage he'll give a good Account of it.

The Answer wrote by this Governour to the Emperour, will give us a farther light into the Character and Reputation of *Cassius*; 'Tis this,

Your Majesty has made an Excellent Choice in disposing the Legions of Syria to Cassius; For 'tis highly necessary that an Army debauch'd by the Luxuries of Greece, should be put under a good severe General. In earnest he'll quickly pull them out of their hot Baths, and persuade them to fight without Nosegays, and Essences: The Provisions for the Troops are ready: Indeed there's no fear of scarcity under a good Commander; For in such a Case, both the Demands, and the Expence, are usually very moderate.

Dio.

This Cassius notwithstanding the Strictness of his Government was born in Syria, a Country not at all remarkable for Sobriety of Manners. He was the Son of that Famous Rhetorician, *Heliodorus*, who by the Strength of his Elocution was made Secretary of State to *Adrian*, and afterwards Viceroy of Egypt.

Now tho' *Fortune* can't change the Circumstances of Birth, yet it often puts Men upon Projects in Genealogy. *Cassius* was no sooner mounted in his Station, but he began to bethink himself of drawing a Descent from that old *Cassius*, who was concern'd in a Plot against *Julius Caesar*: For in Heraldry the same Name oftentimes makes two Thirds of a Proof. Having founded his Pedigree upon this Pretence, he

he endeavour'd to fortify his Claim by a Conformity of Manners. Like old *Cassius*, he always had an Aversion to the very Name of an Emperour; and ventur'd to say, *That there was nothing more intolerable to the State than this Title, which had this Particular unfortunate Circumstance in it, that he who went about to suppress it in another, was forc'd to take it upon himself.* Like his pretended Ancestor he valued himself upon his Inclination to restore the old Liberty: And used to hint, *That if the Gods would but Countenance a good Cause, the Cassii would set up the Common wealth as high as ever.* This Aversion heighten'd by a vast Ambition; and brought to an Expectation by some Knavish Fortunetellers, who are seldom wanting in such Cases, had like to have broke out in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*. *Cassius*, tho then very young, had form'd a Conspiracy against him: But *Heliodorus*, a Person of great Prudence and Authority, stifled this Plot in the Birth, hoping time would qualify his Son's Heat, and make him Wiser. *Cassius* during his Father's Life, kept within Compass, and seem'd reform'd by his Advice, but this restraint, serv'd only to provoke Desire; which at last grew too strong to be manag'd. The Emperour *Verus* when he went into *Syria*, was the first that discover'd his

Volcat. in
Cassio. 1.

Ibid. 13.

Design; and being glad of an Opportunity to destroy a Man, whose Exploits and Bravery, had made him somewhat Jealous, he wrote to *Antoninus* as follows;

Volcat. in
Cassio.

Cassius, as I am well inform'd, is making his way to the Throne, and going upon the Old Design discover'd in my Grandfather your Father's Reign. I beg of you his Motions may be observ'd; nothing that we do can please him, and he is filling his Coffers at a mighty rate: He makes a jest of our Inclination for Letters, calls you, old Philosophy in Petticoats, and me a little Libertine. You see therefore what you have to do; for my part, I have no Spleen against the Man: But I entreat your Majesty to take care for fear you and your Children should one day be sensible of the danger in continuing a General of his Temper, so much belov'd, and so very absolute in the Army.

Antoninus imputing *Venus's* Suspicion, either to his Jealousy, or Disaffection to *Cassius*, return'd him this Answer.

I read your Letter, and find it too full of Diffidence and Apprehension for an Emperour, and not at all suitable to the Character of our Reign. If the Gods have decreed the Empire to *Cassius*, 'tis not in our power to prevent it; you remember the saying of your Grandfather *Adrian*, that no Man could kill his Successor: But if his grasping at the Scepter is discountenanced by Heaven, he'll destroy him-

Volcat. in
Cassio. 2.

himself without our Cruelty ; besides, 'twill look very oddly to try a Man without Evidence, and who, as you observe is so very much belov'd by the Soldiers. I may add, that in Cases of High Treason, the Prisoner is generally thought to be hardly used, when fairly Convicted. I suppose you han't forgot what Adrian used to say upon this Occasion. That Princes were the most Unfortunate of all People, for no body will believe there's any Truth in a Conspiracy till they see it Executed. 'Tis true, this fine Sentence belongs to Domitian, but I rather chuse to cite Adrian, because the Sententious sayings of Tyrants have not the same Weight and Authority, as those which are delivered by a Good Prince. Let Cassius then take his Humour, for to give him his due, he is a great General, brave in his Person, and one that we can by no means spare as Affairs stand. As to what you insinuate, that his Death is the only Security for my Children ; I say, if Cassius's Merits out-shine theirs, let them smart for't ; for if 'tis more the Interest of the Empire that Cassius should live, than the Issue of Antoninus, I shall never be concern'd about their Death.

It appear'd by the Event, that Verus had made a right Judgment of the Case, and penetrated the Designs of Cassius better than his Brother Emperour ; But 'tis
common

common for Honesty and good Meaning, to make too favourable Constructions upon other Men.

Volcat. in
Cassio. 7.
Capitol. 24.

Volcat.
Ibid. Ca-
pitol. Dio.

Antoninus was so beloved by the People, that *Cassius* found the working of his Project a difficult Business; And notwithstanding his Interest in *Egypt* and *Syria* he could never have made any Progress in the Matter, had it not been for a Sham-Report of *Antoninus's* Death. Some were of Opinion that this News was rais'd by himself, and that *Faustina* perceiving the Emperour broken by Age, Fatiguing, and ill Health, that his Son *Commodus* was too young to succeed him, and being afraid her Quality of Empress would not last, held a Correspondence with this Rebel; and by a strange piece of Politicks, had awaken'd his Ambition, and made him the offer of her Person, and the Empire, which latter she hoped to secure for her Children by this Contrivance. But there's no likelihood *Faustina* would take such wrong Measures, and indeed the Temper of *Cassius* is enough in all Conscience to justify her. But let this be as it will, 'tis certain he publish'd the News of the Emperour's being dead, and that with all the Appearance of Grief and Mortification imaginable; adding withal, that the Army in *Pannonia* not believing *Commodus* old enough to govern,

govern, had proclaim'd him Emperour in his stead. This Pretence was sufficient for *Cassius* to set up with ; who having given the chief Commands in the Army to his Friends, endeavour'd to secure himself against Opposition, and in a little time made himself Master of all the Country from *Syria* to Mount *Taurus* ; and at the same time he wrote a Letter somewhat in the form of a *Manifesto*, to his Son * the Governour of *Alexandria* ; It runs thus.

* Or Son in Law.
Drancianus.

Nothing can be more unhappy than a Government which Cherishes such an insatiable sort of People as we are now pester'd with. Antoninus is really a very good Man, only he strains too much for the Character of Clemency, and suffers those Wretches to go on, whose Misbehaviour he is fully convinc'd of; where's the brave Cassius, whose Name we have the Honour to carry, tho' without much Significancy at present ? Where's Cato the Censor ? What's become of the Discipline of our Ancestors ? Alas ! It expired with those great Men, and now we have scarcely the Manhood left so much as to think on't. Antoninus is perfectly subdued by Philosophy : He spends his time in reading upon the Elements, dissecting the Soul, and making fine Discourses upon Decency and Justice, but as for the Government, that's the least of his Business. In short, you see there's nothing but Steel, and
extreme

extreme Remedies can relieve us, and set the Commonwealth upon the old Foot. What! do you think I'll endure such Governours of Provinces as these are? If I may call such Fellows Governours and Proconsuls, who fancy Antoninus, and the Senate give them the Command of a whole Country, only to fill their Pockets, and supply their Debauchery. I suppose you have heard that our Virtuoso's Captain of the Guards was but a mere Beggar just before his Preferment; and now all of a sudden his Fortune is swell'd to a vast bulk: And which way can his Coffers grow thus fast, unless by preying either upon the Publick Revenues, or Private Property? Well! I'm not sorry for their Thriving; let these Spunges suck as plentifully as they please, I hope to squeeze them into the Exchequer shortly. Let but the Gods vouchsafe to Countenance a good Cause, and the Cassii will not fail to set up the Commonwealth as high as ever.

Dio.
Xiphil.

Martius Verus, Lieutenant General, who as I observ'd, had a great share under *Cassius* in the Action, and Successes in *Armenia*, having now the Government of *Cappadocia*, dispatch'd away Couriers to *Antoninus*, to inform him of the Revolt. The Emperour being afraid lest *Cassius* should by some Means or other, seize upon *Commodus*, or get him Murther'd, wrote privately to *Rome* for the young Prince to be convey'd to him,
and

and endeavour'd to conceal the News from his Army : But as soon as he understood it was divulg'd, that the Camp had taken the Alarm, and the Soldiers had Meetings about it : He order'd them to be drawn up before his Tent, and made a Speech to them as follows.

' Fellow Soldiers, My Business with you is
' neither to show my Dissatisfaction, nor
' make any Complaint : For why should
' we be displeas'd at the uncontrollable
' Power of Providence : 'Tis true, to com-
' plain when one's ill used, as I am, is natu-
' ral enough. In earnest, is it not a hard
' Fate to be perpetually embarrass'd, and
' embroil'd, to stand always with ones
' Sword drawn, and be toss'd from one
' Tempest to another ? Is it not a deplora-
' ble Business to be thus drag'd into a Civil
' War ? But is it not still a more lamentable
' Consideration, that there's no such thing
' as Fidelity in Nature, and that one of those
' Men whom I believ'd most firm to my
' Interest, should take the Field against me
' without the least Injury, or Provocation
' imaginable ? At this rate what have we
' to trust to ? Where can Innocence and
' Honesty be secure ? If I am thus serv'd,
' where is true Friendship, and Sincerity
' to be met with ? Has not Good Faith ta-
' ken its leave, and what can we expect from
' Mankind

‘ Mankind after this? If the danger pointed
‘ at none but my Person, I would give my
‘ self little trouble about it, (for I don’t
‘ pretend to be immortal;) but now since
‘ the Revolt is general, the storm bears
‘ down upon us all. I heartily wish *Cassius*
‘ would come hither, and refer his Preten-
‘ tions, and make you; or the *Senate* Judge
‘ of them: For if after such a Debate ’twas
‘ thought Serviceable to the *Publick*, I
‘ should willingly resign to him without
‘ striking a stroak. ’Tis only for the sake
‘ of the *State* that I have thus long har-
‘ rass’d and ventur’d my Person: ’Tis on-
‘ ly upon this Account that I have as it
‘ were banish’d my self my Native Coun-
‘ try, and denied an old and infirm Body
‘ the Conveniencies of *Italy*, and that I
‘ can very seldom enjoy one easy Minute,
‘ either to Eat or Sleep in. But *Cassius* will
‘ never consent to this Proposal. For how
‘ can he trust himself with me, after his
‘ barbarous Usage, and Breach of Faith?
‘ As for you, *Gentlemen*, you have great
‘ reason to keep up your Spirits; for the *Ci-*
‘ *licians*, *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Jews*, were
‘ never yet your Equals in Bravery, nor
‘ ever will be, tho’ they exceeded your
‘ Numbers as much as now they fall short of
‘ them. Nay even *Cassius* himself, as good
‘ a General as he is, and after all the great
‘ Exploits

‘ Exploits he has done, is a meer Cypher
‘ as things stand. For what can an Eagle
‘ signify that has nothing but a Flock of
‘ Pigeons to muster, or a Lion that heads
‘ no other Forces but Fallow-Deer? Be-
‘ sides, ’tis you, not *Cassius*, that beat the
‘ *Parthians*, and *Arabians*; and granting he
‘ has gain’d a great deal of Honour in this
‘ War, have you not *Martius Vetus* on your
‘ side, not at all his Inferiour; and who
‘ has contributed as much as the other to all
‘ our Successes in the Field? But it may be
‘ *Cassius* hearing me alive, has now repented
‘ his Attempt; for ’twas only the Report
‘ of my Death which has made him thus
‘ Enterprizing. And supposing he should
‘ be obstinate at present, when he has once
‘ notice of our March against him; he’ll
‘ scarce ever have the Resolution to *Face*
‘ us. He’ll be confounded between your
‘ Force, and my *Presence*, and Shame and
‘ Fear together will make him drop his
‘ Sword. *Fellow Soldiers*; the only thing
‘ I’m afraid of is, that *Cassius* not having
‘ the Confidence to look me in the Face
‘ should make himself away, or that some
‘ other Body, understanding I’m going to
‘ fight him, should do me this ill Office,
‘ and so deprive me of the most glorious
‘ Advantage of my Victory. And what
‘ Advantage is this? ’Tis to Pardon an Ene-
my;

' my ; 'tis to be True to a false Man, and to
 ' continue his Friend that has broken all
 ' the Laws of Friendship. This, 'tis likely,
 ' looks very Impracticable to you, but for
 ' all that I would not have you disbelieve
 ' it. For Goodness and Generosity have
 ' not so utterly forsaken the Earth, as not
 ' to leave us some Remains of the Antient
 ' Virtue. But if this must be counted In-
 ' credible, I have still the greater desire to
 ' it ; To convince you by Matter of Fact,
 ' of what you all thought impossible. And
 ' by this means I should gain the Satisfacti-
 ' on at least of showing the World that
 ' the greatest Provocations may be over-
 ' look'd, and that 'tis possible to turn even
 ' a Civil War it self to some handson Ac-
 ' count.

Dio Capi-
 rol. 24.
 Volcat. in
 Cassio. 7.

This Speech was sent in a Letter to the
 Senate, where *Cassius* was attainted of High
 Treason, and his Estate forfeited to the
 City Chamber, for the Emperour would not
 have it brought into his *Exchequer*. In the
 mean time *Commodus* came to the Army,
 and had the *Tribunitian* Authority granted
 him by *Antoninus* : And now having pro-
 vided every thing ready for the marching
 his Troops, the Emperour went into *Italy*
 to take the Empress, and his other Chil-
 dren along with them. And being come
 as far as Mount *Alba* he wrote this Letter
 to the Empress.

Verus

Verus was in the right in the Advice he Volcat. in
Cassio. 9.
sent me of Cassius's Design to usurp the Empire. I suppose you may have heard what fine things the Fortune-tellers have promis'd him. Pray come forthwith to Mount Alba, and fear nothing; For here I wait for you, and hope by the Gods Assistance, to discourse with you farther about our Affairs.

Faustina wrote him this Answer.

I intend, according to your Orders to be at Mount Alba to Morrow; in the mean time I beg of you, if you have any Love for your Children, to make an Example of all these Traitors: For these Rebellions are an ill President to the Officers, and Soldiers, who will infallibly do your Business, unless you prevent them.

Faustina being hindred by some Accident from going to Mount Alba, the Emperour wrote to her to come to Formianum, and embark with him there, but being detain'd at Rome by their Eldest Daughters falling Sick, she sent him this Letter.

When Celsus's Rebellion was on Foot, my Empress-Mother Faustina, desired our Father Antoninus, to be kind in the first place to his own Blood, and Family, and then if he had any Mercy to spare, to let Strangers be the better for't: For indeed an Emperour can't be said to be good Natur'd, unless he takes care of his Wife and Children. I need not tell

K

you

• His Family was Antiochian.

Volcat. in Cassio. 10.

† Puellæ. Virgini.

you of the Disadvantage of your Son Commodus his Minority, nor that your Son in Law Pompeianus, is both in Years, and a * Foreigner. Take care then how you manage yourself with Cassius and his Adherents. Ne'er spare those Rebels, who you see don't spare you; neither would they have any greater Tenderness for me and my Children, if they should carry their Point. I intend to follow you immediately. Fadilla's falling ill has hindred me in my Journey to Formianum, but if I can't reach you there, I hope to do it at Capua; the Air of that Town I expect will set me and my Children up again. I desire you would send me your Physician Soteridas to Formianum; for really I have no Faith in Sositheus; In my Opinion, he is but a sorry Doctor, to prescribe to a † Child. Calphurnius has deliver'd me all your Letters with the Seals whole; if my Journey is delay'd I'll write you an Answer, and send it by our Trusty Servant Cæcilius, who shall inform you by Word of Mouth what Cassius's Wife and Children, and Son in Law talk of you, and which I don't think convenient to commit to Paper.

Cassius, who was a Man of too much Sense not to know there was no sleeping over Treason, push'd his Point, and endeavour'd to gain Greece to open his Passage the better into Italy. And here foreseeing the Interest and Elocution of Herod would be

be serviceable to his Purpose, he left no Stone unturn'd to prevail with him, and to refresh his old Disgust against *Antoninus*. But *Herod*, without listening in the least to his Proposals, or so much as reading his Letters all over, return'd him this short Answer, and indeed the only right one for a Rebel.

*Cassius, thou art out of thy Wits. **

* *Mai. n.*
Philostr. in
vit. Herod.

Cassius was no luckier in other Places; he could not so much as shake the Allegiance of any Considerable Town, nor decoy any Body to his Party, excepting some beggarly Libertines, who were over Head and Ears in Debt, and Debauchery. This ill Success began to make him lose his Credit amongst the Soldiers; and thus after three Months, and six days from his first Revolt, this Visionary Reign concluded, and the Usurper was kill'd by two of his Officers. His Head was brought to the Emperour at *Formianum*, as appears by his Answer to *Faustina's* Letter which she wrote after she had receiv'd the News of *Cassius's* Death.

Dio. Volcat.
in Cassio. 7.

'Tis impossible, my dear Faustina, for any one to shew more tenderness and Affection than you have done upon this Occasion, for me and the Children. I have read your Letter at Formianum over and over, in which you advise me to punish the Cassian Rebels. But for

Volcat. in
Cassio. 126

my part I am resolv'd to pardon Cassius's Wife and Children, and Son in Law; And am now going to write to the Senate to persuade them to moderate their Rigour, and not make too many Traytors, for there's nothing that recommends a Roman Emperour so much as his Clemency. 'Twas this Quality which made Julius Cæsar greater than his Victories, and gave him and Augustus their
 * Apotheosis; and procur'd our † Father, the Honourable surname of || PIUS: could this War have been ended as I would have had it, even Cassius should not have lost his Life. Ne'er disturb your self, For, the Gods who love my Clemency will be sure to protect
 * me. I have nominated our Son in Law Pompeianus, Consul for the ensuing Year.

* Made them Gods.
 † Antoninus Pius.
 || Or. Mercitil.

* The Emperour cites a Verse from Horace. Capitol. 24. Volcat. in Cassio. 9.

This Clemency was admired by some, and censured by others: One of this latter sort took the Liberty to ask Antoninus what he thought Cassius would have done if he had gotten the Victory. The Emperour replied, *We have not serv'd the Gods so negligently, nor lived so ill, as to have had any manner of fear of being conquer'd by Cassius.* Then he went on and instanc'd in those Princes who were either defeated by the Rebels in the Field, or privately murder'd by their Subjects, shewing that they miscarried either by their Cruelty, or their ill Conduct. Nero and Caligula, says he, may
 thank

thank themselves for their Misfortune, Otho and Vitellius, wanted Courage to govern, and Galba perfectly lost himself by his Avarice ; He added, that there was hardly one Good Prince upon Record, who was thus serv'd ; That Augustus, Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus Pius, had always the upper hand of Rebels and Traitors, the greatest part of which were executed either contrary to their Orders, or before they knew on't. 'Twere very well, if this Maxim would hold ; but alas ! Since this good Emperour's time it has fail'd in a great many Cases : I shall now give the Reader his Letter to the Senate upon this Occasion,

My Lords,

You have voted my Son in Law Pompeianus Volent. in
Cass. 12. *Consul, as a Testimony of your Satisfaction for my Success : Indeed his Years deserv'd this Honour long since, had not Persons of extraordinary Merit appear'd against him ; And where the State was so much indebted, 'twas but reasonable to discharge the Obligation. As to Cassius's Revolt, I intreat and conjure you to wave the usual Severity in such Cases, and not let me, or rather your selves, suffer in the Character of Clemency, by condemning any Person to Death. Let none of the Senate be punish'd, Let no Noble Blood be drawn : Recall the Banish'd, and let those under Forfeiture*

ture enjoy their Estates: And I heartily wish 'twas also in my Power to bring the dead to Life again, and fetch them out of their Graves! For I don't love an Emperour should take Revenge for himself: This Method tho' never so defensible is generally interpreted as over Rigorous. For these Reasons I conclude you will be willing that Cassius's Wife, Children and Son in Law shall have their Pardon. Their Pardon! Why should I say that, since they have done nothing to need it! Let them live then undisturb'd, and be sensible they live under the Reign of Marcus Antoninus. Let their Estate, their Money, and their Furniture be restor'd; Let them be rich, and easy, and go where they please, and wherever they Move let them carry the Marks of your Clemency, and mine about them.

My Lords, 'Tis no great Instance of Goodness to pardon the Wives and Children of those Attainted: I desire you would do something more for my sake than this comes to; protect I beseech you those Senators and Gentlemen concern'd in the Plot, from Executions and Forfeitures, from Fear and Infamy, and from all sorts of Injury, and Disadvantage whatsoever; and let it be the peculiar Happiness of my Administration, that no Rebel who lost his Life in Skirmish, or Tumult, may be thought ill dealt with.

The reading of this Letter was receiv'd Capitol. 25, 26. with great Acclamations, and all the signs of Acknowledgment and Respect imaginable. In the mean time the Emperour order'd *Cassius's* Head to be buried, and generously shewed himself troubled for his Death; and then continued his March to put an end to the Rebellion; and bring the *Eastern* Army to their Duty. He began with *Egypt*, and pardon'd all those Towns which revolted to *Cassius*; And when he came to *Alexandria*, a very disaffected Place, he left one of his Daughters there, as a Security, that he was Friends with them.

Being arriv'd at *Pelusium* he saw the Solemnities of *Serapis* perform'd there; which being frequented by vast numbers from all Parts of *Egypt*, occasion'd a great deal of Debauchery and Extravagance: Therefore, without minding how the People would take it, who are generally Disconcerted at any Change in Religion; he put down these Holy Days, and order'd that the Sacrifices to this Idol should be offer'd by the Priests in Private, without any Concourse of the Multitude. And all the way of his *Progress* he visited the Temples, Schools, and such frequented Places, instructing the People in a familiar condescensive manner: And explaining some of Capitol. 26.

the grand Difficulties in Philosophy ; inſo-
much that where-ever he came, he was ex-
tremely admir'd for his Senſe and Capacity.

Diq.

The firſt thing he did in *Syria*, was to
burn all the *Letters* found in *Caffius's* Ca-
binet, that he might not be forc'd almoſt
to hate any Perſon whether he would or
no. Some are of Opinion that *Martius*
Verus, whom the Emperour detach'd for
Syria, and for his Loyalty gave him the
Government of that Province ; ſome ſay
this *Martius Verus* burnt the Letters before,
of his own Head, declaring that the Empe-
rour would like it : But if he ſhould be ſo
unhappy as to Diſpleaſe his Maſteſty, he
ſhould ſuffer Death very willingly to ſave
the Lives of ſo many People : Such an In-
ſtance of Goodneſs and Generoſity is rare-
ly to be met with in a Heathen, or it may
be in a Courtier either.

Towards the end of this Year *Antoninus*
was proclaim'd Emperour the eighth time,
as appears by the *Medals* where the In-
ſcription Imp. VIII. is join'd with the XIX
Year of his *Tribunitian Authority*.

Capitol 26.
Pio.

Fauſtina died in this Progreſs at the
Foot of Mount *Taurus* : *Antoninus* was very
ſenſibly Afflicted at her Death ; And the
Senate imagining the Empreſs might have
ſowr'd his Temper againſt thoſe concern'd
in the Revolt, and that the beſt way to
condole

condole with him was to sacrifice some of his Enemies, thus they fell into a new fit of Punishing, out of Flattery, and over Complaisance ; Vices which oftentimes creep into those *Great Bodies* no less than into the Breasts of Private People. But the Emperour being inform'd how the Senate stood affected, sent them a Second Letter, to let them know that their Severity would only make his Trouble for the Loss of the Empress the greater, desir'd that no body might be put to Death, and concluded with these Words, *If I can't prevail with you to spare the Lives of the Revolters, you'l force me to wish I were dead my self.*

But to prevent such Rebellions as this from coming over again, he made a Law that for the future the Government of a Province should be given to no Man that was born in it.

As concerning *Cassius's* Children none of them lost their Lives but the Eldest *Me-
cianus*, who being Governour of *Alexan-
dria*, was kill'd there by some of his own Party, the same Day that his Father was dispatch'd in *Syria*. *Heliodorus* another of his Sons was Transported * and forfeited his Quality and Estate: The rest were only banish'd at large, and had their *Fortune* allow'd them. His Daughter *Alexandra*, and her Husband *Druncianus*, had the Liberty

Dio.

Dio.

Volcat in
Cassio. 7.Depor-
tus. Capitol
26.
Volcat. 9.

erty either to live at *Rome*, or go whither they pleas'd. *Antoninus* took care to secure them in the Privileges of their Condition, and had such a Regard for them upon all occasions ; that once when they had a Cause of great Concern tried before the *Senate*, he forbad the other *side* to reproach them with the Misfortunes of their Family, and fined several who had given themselves too much Liberty in this Point.

Dio.

In the mean time the *Senate*, who perceiv'd they could not make their Court to their Prince by their Rigour, endeavour'd to do it by inventing some new Honours to the Memory of *Faustina*. It seems the building her a Temple was not enough for them. They erected her a Golden Statue, and pass'd an Order that every time the Emperour went to the Play-House, this Figure should be placed in the Empreſſes Box, and that the Ladies of the first Quality should be seated round it. But they refin'd still farther upon the Old Model of Flattery, and voted *Antoninus* and *Faustina* two Silver Statues, placed them in *Venus's* Temple, and set up an Altar for them, upon which all the young Women, and their Bridegrooms were ordered to sacrifice on their Wedding Day.

Capitol 26.

Antoninus gave the *Senate* thanks for their Respect to him and the Empreſs, and being

being resolved to do something for her
himself, he founded a Society of single Wo-
men, whom he call'd *Faustinians*, and
maintain'd them at his own Charge, and
built a Temple for his Empress at the Vil-
lage where she died : This Temple was
afterwards provided with a suitable Deity,
it being consecrated to *Heliogabalus*, one of
the greatest Monsters in Lewdness that was
ever heard of.

After *Antoninus* had thus settled the *East*,
he made his way towards *Rome*. In his
return he staid some time at *Smyrna*, and as
every Body almost were crowding to pay
their Duty, or get a sight of him, He re-
membered one Evening he had not seen
Aristides, and was afraid that Orator
might take it for a Neglect : For 'twas one
of the Emperour's Chief Maxims to pay a
distinguishing Regard to Men of Probity
and Character, and to treat every Body
according to their Merit. He acquainted
his Courtiers with his being uneasy about
this Matter, particularly the *Quintilians*,
who had the Government of *Greece* : They
assur'd him, *Aristides* had not been there ; Philostat.
in Aristide,
for if he had, they would have disengag'd
him from the Crowd, and presented him
to his Majesty : And the next Day they
were as good as their Word, and brought
him. As soon as *Antoninus* saw him, he
ask'd

ask'd him, *How comes it to pass Aristides that you make your Visit so late?* Sir, says Aristides, *I was busy about a Point, and you know as well as any Person living, that when a Man is warm in his Study, he can't endure to be interrupted.* The Emperour being extremely pleas'd to see Nature thus open and undisguis'd, asks him, *And when may we hear a Discourse from you then?* Aristides with the same Assurance, replies, *If you please to give me a Subject to day, you shall hear to Morrow what I can say on't; for I am none of those Extemporary People that venture to let fly what comes first at their Tongues end: no, I love to work up my Things strong; but then Sir, says he, I beg leave that all my Friends may make part of the Audience. With all my Heart,* says the Emperour. *But, Sir,* replies Aristides, *I have another Condition to throw in, 'tis that my Friends may be allow'd to Clap, and make as much Noise in my Commendation as if your Majesty was not there.* That, says the Emperour with a smile, *shall be perfectly at your Management.* The next Day Aristides made a Panegyricall Harangue upon Smyrna, and came off with great Reputation; the Oration is Extant among his Works.

Aristid.
Tom. 1.
O. at. 15.

From Smyrna the Emperour travel'd to Athens, where he had his Wish of being Initiated in the grand Mysteries of Ceres,
the

the most sacred and solemn part of the Heathen Religion : Nothing could pass Capitol. 27. Muster here but great Innocence of Life, and a Reputation without the least Blemish in't. Those who were admitted, were first examin'd in their Moral Qualifications ; by a Priest appointed for that Purpose.

He was very kind to the *Athenians*, and did their Town abundance of Honour ; he Dio. Philostr. in vit. Adriani. left them Professors in all Sciences with great Salaries to support them ; made them Noble Presents, and gave them a great deal of Privilege and *Franchise*. In his Voyage home he met with a terrible Storm, which had like to cast him away. Upon his arrival at *Brindisi*, he put off his Soldiers Habit, and made his Troops do the same, who during his whole Reign were never suffer'd to wear *Buff* in *Italy*. Capitol. 27.

He was receiv'd at *Rome* with all the Demonstrations of Joy imaginable. * And here at his first coming having been eight Years absent he gave all the People eight pieces of Gold † a Man, forgave them all the Money they ow'd either to the *City*, *Chamber*, or his own Exchequer, from sixty Years upward, burnt all the Bonds and Evidences of the Debt in the great *Square* or *Forum*, gave his Son *Commodus* his *Mans Habit*, * Dio. An. Dom. 176.

† The Roman *Aureus* at that time was worth about Ten Shillings Sterling.

¶ The
Princeps
Juventutis
commanded
the Boys of
Quality in
the *Ludus*
Troja, and
was gene-
rally the
Emperours
Son, or near
Relation,
and by this
Title de-
sign'd to
succeed him.
Philostr. in
Aristid.
Dio. Aristid.
Tom. Orat.
20, 21.

Habit, dub'd him *Prince of the Youth*, || made him his Partner in the Empire, triumph'd with him and named him Consul for the next Year, and to honour his Consulship the more, follow'd his Triumphal Chariot in the *Circus* on Foot. After this, he retired to his Philosophy for some time at *Lavinium*; This Study he used to call his *Mother*, and the Court his *Step-Mother*. And this saying of *Plato* was frequently mention'd by him, *that the way to have a Nation happy, was either to make their Philosophers Kings, or their Kings Philosophers*. Notwithstanding being well satisfied that a Conquering People in the time of Peace are apt to be fond of *Publick Shews*, and that in Prudence it may not be amiss to gratify them with such Amusements, both to refresh their Spirits, and keep them from racking their Brains with Seditious Projects, for these Reasons he entertain'd them with very Magnificent *Spectacles*, tho' he had no manner of Relish for the Diversion himself.

While *Rome* enjoy'd the Advantage of Peace, and the Satisfaction of having the Emperour at home, *Smyrna* was miserably handled by Fire and Earthquake, the greatest part of the Inhabitants being buried under the Ruines. *Aristides* wrote so moving a Letter upon the Subject of this Misfortune

fortune to the Emperour, that he could not forbear weeping as he read it; In short, it made such an Impression upon him that he issued out Commissions immediately for the raising a sufficient Fund for Rebuilding the City, ordering a Nobleman to take care of the Business; Insomuch that the Accident was in a manner retriev'd, and the Town had no Reason to regret the Loss of her former Magnificence. The Townsmen being full of Acknowledgment for *Aristides*, erected him a Statue of Brass in the middle of the Market place: An extraordinary thing this, and of it self enough to shew the Happiness of the Times, when the Honour chiefly due to the Prince's Liberality was all of it given away to the Orator's Rhetorick. *Antoninus* took this Opportunity to reward the Citizens of *Smyrna* for their Loyalty, and the Service they had done him. For at the breaking out of the *Parthian* War, when *Atidius Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria* was wounded and forced to retreat, the Army being quite routed, and the Baggage lost; *Smyrna* receiv'd the Soldiers with all the Humanity imaginable, buried *Cornelianus* who died of his Wounds; and all the People striving as it were who should treat the Soldiers best, gave them Cloaths, Arms, and Money, as *Venussum* had done to those who escap'd from

from the Battle of *Canna*. The same Assistance which the Emperour gave upon this Occasion to *Smyrna*, he had already bestow'd in *Italy*, and upon other Towns elsewhere, which fell under the same Fate, as *Carthage*, *Ephesus*, and *Nicomedia*.

Capitol. 23.

The Emperour's Expencc in furnishing out *Shews*, the Largeesses he bestow'd upon the People, the vast Sums he was out in Rebuilding Towns ruined by Fire, and Earthquakes, and the *Customs* and *Impositions* which he forgave the Subject when his Necessities were most pressing, are Arguments sufficient to confute any Objection against his Liberality. 'Tis granted, he was a good Husband, and like his Father *Antoninus Pius*, manag'd his Revenues with Frugality enough; But when the Ease of People, or the Honour of the Empire requir'd it, he open'd his Hand even to Prodigality: Being convinc'd that these are the only proper Occasions for a Prince to be free of his *Exchequer*; and that Avarice in such Cases is a very dangerous Quality. Nay, he used to say that when the People saw the Prince Liberal to the *Publick*, and thrifty in his Private Expencc, they paid their Taxes more willingly, looking upon his Wealth in a manner as their own, and as a sort of Fund, for the general Happiness. The little Justice done to *Antoninus* upon

Dio.

Capitol. 23.
Dio.

upon this Head, is not at all surprizing : The Bounties of Princes which have least Discretion are commonly most taking with the People ; whereas Prudence and Reason goes for Covetousness with them : For they never distinguish between giving and squandering, and make their own craving Temper the Standard of Liberality : But after all, 'tis certain *Rome* never had a Prince more beneficent than *Antoninus*, who was also the first that built a Temple, to the Goddess presiding over *Good Turns*, and ^{Ibid.} which it may be was at that time of Day, the only Virtue unworship'd by the *Romans*. Indeed *Antoninus* was the fittest Person living to introduce this new Devotion, considering he understood the Book-part of *Obliging* so well, and was so remarkable in the Practice of it. Towards the end of this Year we understand by the *Medals*, that he was proclaim'd Emperour the ninth time ; it being likewise the one and thirtieth Year of his *Tribunitian Authority*.

Fabia above-mention'd, who had been *Venus's* Wench, tho' she was his Sister, and whose Ambition was little less than her Impudence ; this Lady being willing to make the most of her tarnishing Beauty, left no Trick untried to persuade *Antoninus* to marry her. The Emperour understanding her better than he had done *Faustina*, and
L besides

besides having no Inclination to marry, always put her off. 'Tis said he took a Mifs or Concubine, to prevent the Inconvenience of a Mother in Law to his Children. Now tho' the Consequence from *Writing*, to *Life*, won't hold without Exception, because Mens Discourse and Practice are not always of a Piece, yet since *Antoninus's* Life was so exactly fuitable to his Philosophy, we may very well question the Truth of this Passage; And indeed the Falshood of it appears plainly by his giving the Gods thanks in his first Book * for being but a little while, in his Childhood, under the Management of his Grandfather's Wench. Now 'tis highly improbable he should bring his own Children within the danger of such an Example, from which he reckons it a Blessing to have been quickly deliver'd himself.

* Sc&A. 17.

Dio.

The Peace the *Romans* were so happy in, lasted scarcely two Years. The *Scythians*, and Northen People took the Field again, and attacked the Emperour's Vice-Roys, who were in no Condition to make any great Resistance. This oblig'd *Antoninus* to prepare for another Expedition: Going therefore to the *Senate* he mention'd a *Supply*, which was the first time he had demanded any new Tax.

This Mony, had he been willing to use his Authority, might have been rais'd by the
the

the Strength of *Prerogative* ; But this was none of his Method : He was so Condescensive as to say the Emperours had no Property of their own ; and that the very Palace they lived in, belong'd to the Lords and Commons.

About this time he married his Son to *Crispina*, Daughter to *Brutus Valens*, who had been Consul ; the Wedding was kept like that of a private Person, without any thing of Royal Grandeur, or Expence in't.

After this, he went to *Bellona's* * Temple, and perform'd the Ceremony of the *Dart* : This Custom was very Antient, and only practis'd upon a War beyond Sea ; and against some very remote Country. The Emperour coming into the Temple took up the *Bloody Lance* which was kept there, and threw it over an opposite Column, in the *Circus Flaminius*, which pointed toward the Enemy's Quarters.

The *Romans* perceiving their Emperour broken with Age and Fatiguing, ready to set forward, and expose his Person to all the Hazards of a new War, and being afraid they might lose this brave Prince, and the benefit of that admirable Prudence too, which was not likely to out-live him ; having these Apprehensions they came in a Body to the Palace, to desire him not to leave them till he had given them some

Rules for their Conduct; that in case the Gods should take him to themselves, they might have some Directions to steer by; and be enabled to hold on that Course of Virtue into which his Example had led them. *Antoninus* was so much affected with the Probity, and good Disposition of this Address, that he spent three whole Days in Moral Discourses, explaining the greatest Difficulties upon that Argument, and giving the People some short Maxims, to assist their Memory, and govern their Practice.

In the beginning of *August* he left the Town, taking *Commodus* along with him, and gave the Command of the Troops to *Paternus*. The *Scythians* lost the best part of their Forces in the first Battle, which was fought with such Resolution, that it lasted a whole Day. And now *Antoninus* was proclaim'd Emperour by the Army, the Tenth time.

'Twere to be wish'd we could give a particular account of these last glorious Campaignes, but since there's no Historian extant to transmit the Detail, we must be contented to understand in General, that this War was no less Troublesome than any of the former; that the King of *Scythia* beheaded several of his Officers upon a Suspicion of their holding Correspondence with the *Romans*; That *Antoninus* fought a great many

many Battels very obstinate and bloody, in which the Victory was always gain'd by the force of his Conduct, and the extraordinary Bravery of his Person; that he was always at the Head of his Troops in the hottest Service; That he Built and Garrison'd several Forts to keep the Country in Awe; And that in the beginning of *March*, when he was going to open his third Campagne, he was seiz'd with a Distemper at *Vienna*, * which carried him off in a few Days.

* Some say
at *Sirmich*
in *Hungary*.
Dio.

'Tis said his Physicians used him ill, and hasten'd his Death, to make their Court to *Commodus*: *Dion Cassius* is positive in this Opinion, which if it be true, *Antoninus* had more Grounds for that Common Saying than he was aware of: *How many Reasons, says he, will People muster up to be rid of us; Those who have had the greatest share in my Affection count my Life but a Grievance, and would be glad to see an End on't.*

Neither did he fail in the least to practise his own Advice upon this Occasion: 'Tis this; * *However this Thought must not go so deep as to sower your Humour; You must keep your Temper, wish the World well, and part friendly with every Body.* This Rule, I say, was exactly observ'd by the Emperour; for the same *Dion Cassius* Reports, that he took a great deal of care to conceal the Cause

Book 10.
Sect. 36.

* *Ibid.*

Dio.

† There were six of these Tribunes, or Colonels, in every Legion.

† Herod. in Com. od. 7.

of his Death, that he recommended his Son to the Army; And that when a *Tribune* † came to him for the *Word*, he bid him go to the *Rising Sun*.

But *Commodus* being very young, and having as yet given no Suspicion of any such unnatural Barbarity, makes this Relation look Improbable: Especially when we consider || *Herodian's* Testimony, by which it appears plainly that *Commodus* did not fly out into Vice and Disorder till after his Father's Death. The *Oidium* this young Prince; when he came to govern, drew upon himself by his Cruelty, was the occasion no doubt that Fame reported him a Parricide; (that so no sort of Wickedness might escape him;) People being generally willing to believe all the Ill of Princes which their latter Actions shew them capable of doing.

Herodian. in Com. 3, 4.

To return. The Emperour's Sickness had such ill Symptoms, that his Recovery was quickly despair'd of. In this Extremity which generally shocks the Fortitude of most Men, this Prince held up in his Spirit and Temper, and gave a noble Proof of the Force of his Notions and Philosophy. But notwithstanding his Submission to Providence reconciled him to Death, yet the generous Regard he had for his People, gave him many a Melancholy Thought.

This

This Anxiety encreas'd with his Disease, infomuch that the Day before he died, his Mind seem'd restless and uneasy. The Miscarriages of those Princes, who coming young to the Throne were too weak to govern their Fortune, and make Head against their Vices and Flatterers, were perpetually in his Thoughts. The Scandalous Reigns of *Nero* and *Domitian*, made him more Solicitous: He was afraid his Son might make a false step, and not keep his Feet where the Ground was so Slippery; that his Education might be lost upon him, the Notions contriv'd into him miscarry, and all the care of his Instructors prove insignificant; In short, he was afraid he should grow Lewd, and Licentious, and prove a Tyrant to his People, instead of a Protection. On the other Hand, he saw his *Northern* Conquests but slenderly secur'd, that those People were enclin'd to a Revolt, that the Enemy had their Swords in their Hand, and upon such a Juncture were the more to be fear'd, for their having been often defeated: He had therefore reason to be Apprehensive lest his Death might bring all these Nations to a Confederacy against the Empire, and that taking Advantage of his Son's Youth, and want of Experience, they might make an attempt to retrieve their Fortune, and wipe out their former Disgrace. Being somewhat perplex'd with these

these Thoughts, and floating between Hope and Fear, He order d his Friends, and Principal Officers to be brought in : When he saw them about the Bed, he bad *Commodus* stand before them, and then raising himself with some Difficulty to sit up, he spoke to them in this manner.

Herodian.
4. 5. from
the Org.
val.

I'm not surpriz'd at your being troubled to see me in this Condition: Compassion from one Man to another, is very Natural; And those Objects which strike the Sight are always most Affecting: But I persuade my self your Concern upon this Occasion is somewhat more than ordinary: For the Regard I have always had for you, makes me reasonably expect a suitable Return. And now Opportunity presents fair for us both; For Me, that I may have the Satisfaction to be sensible my Esteem and Affection have not been misplaced; For you, to make your Acknowledgements, and shew you are not unmindful of what you have Receiv'd.

You see my Son here, who has been Educated under you, just Launching into his Youth: This part of Life for a Prince especially, is like putting to Sea in a Storm; where without Ballast and good Pilots, he'll be in Danger of being over-set by his Passions, and split upon some Rock or other: And therefore since he is going to lose his Father, I hope that Relation will be supplied, and multiplied in you: Pray take care of him in this dangerous Station, and let him never want good Counsel: Put him

him in Mind, that all the Wealth in the World, is not sufficient to satisfy the Caprice and Luxury of a Tyrant. And that a Prince's Guards, tho' never so Numerous, are but a slender Protection without the Love of the Subject; That those generally sit longest, and most secure upon the Throne, who Reign over the Affections of the People, and govern more by Goodness, than Terror. For 'tis Inclination and not Force, which keeps Loyalty firm, and makes Subjection go down easily. In such Cases People are Friends, not Flatterers, and never start from their Duty, unless provok'd by Injury, and Ill-usage. 'Tis true, 'tis a hard matter to Reign and be Regular; and to set Bounds to your Will, when your Power is almost absolute. If you suggest such Things as these, and remind him of what he hears now, you'll both secure an Excellent Emperour for your selves, and also oblige my Memory in the highest manner imaginable, this being your only way to make it Immortal.

At this Sentence the Emperour grew Speechless, fainted, and fell back into the Bed; and dying the next Day, was much lamented by those of his own Time, and no less admir'd by Posterity. As soon as his Death was publish'd, the Army, and all Italy were mightily Afflicted at the News. So general a Mourning in earnest was never seen. And never was Rome in a greater Consternation. All the Happiness and
Glory

Glory of the Empire seem'd to expire with *Antoninus* : Their Grief express'd it self in all the Varieties of Affection and Regard ; Some call'd him their Father, and others their Brother, some their brave General, some their Good-natur'd Emperour, their Prudent, Exemplary, and every way well qualified, and accomplish'd Prince ; And which is very extraordinary, among such a Multitude of Commendors, there was not one Soul of them that over-shot his Character, or said more of him than he deserv'd. The *Senate* and Commons, made him a God, even before the Solemnity of his Funeral. * And as if it had been a small Matter to erect him a Statue of Gold in the *Julian Chappel*, † They branded all those for a parcel of lewd, ungodly Wretches, who according to their Circumstances, had not either a Picture, or a Statue of *Antoninus* in their own Houses.

* The Emperour's Apotheosis did not Commence till their Funeral was over.

† Here the Senate met.

Thus in the fifty ninth Year almost complete, died the best and greatest of all the *Roman* Emperours : || He reign'd nine Years with his Brother *Vernus*, and ten by himself. 'Twas a great happiness for him he lived no longer : For by this means he was unacquainted with the wretched Qualities of his Son *Commodus*, who, for all manner of Wickedness, was one of the greatest Monsters in History.

Ann.
Dom. 139.
Dio.

The

The Emperour
Marcus Antoninus
 HIS
 CONVERSATION,
 OR,
 Discourses with Himself.

D'acier.

BOOK I.

I. **T**HE Example of my Grandfather
Verns gave me the Advantage of a
 candid and dispassionate Temper.

II. By the Recollection of my Father's
 * Character, I learn'd to be both Modest and
 Manly. ** Annus Verns.*

III. As for my Mother*, she taught me
 to have a Regard for Religion, to be gene-
 rous and open-handed, and not only to for-
 bear doing any Body an ill Turn, but not
 so much as to endure the thought on't. By
 Her likewise I was bred to a plain unexpen-
 sive way of Living, and very different from
 the common Luxury and Liberties, of young
 People of my Quality. ** Domitia Calvilla.*

IV. I

* *Catilius*
Severus.

IV. I am to thank my Great Grandfather * for not running the Risque of a Publick Education, for providing me good Masters at home, and making me sensible, that I ought to return them a large and honourable Acknowledgment.

V. From my Governour I learn'd not to over-value the Diversions of the *Race-Ground*, and *Amphitheater*, nor to dote upon the Liveries and Distinctions of *Jockeys* and *Gladiators*. He taught me also to put my own Hand to Business upon occasion, to endure Hardship and Fatigues, and to throw the Necessities of Nature into a little Compass. That I ought not to meddle with other Peoples Matters, nor be easy in giving Credit to *Informers*.

† Quail-
fighting a-
mongst the
Antients,
like Cock-
fighting
with us.

VI. *Diognetus* gave me the Hint not to keep Quails for the Pit, † or bestow my Pains and Inclination upon Trifles: Not to be led away with the Impostures of Wizards and Figure-flingers, who pretend they can discharge Evil Spirits, and do strange Feats by the strength of a Charm. This *Diognetus* help'd me to the Faculty of bearing Freedom and Plain-dealing in others; brought me to Relish Philosophy, and apply my self to't; and procured me the Instruction of those celebrated Men, *Bacchius*, *Tandacides*, and *Marcianus*. He likewise put me upon improving my self by

by writing Dialogues when I was a Boy, prevail'd with me to prefer a Couch cover'd with Hides, to a Bed of State; and reconcil'd me to other resembling Rigors of the Stoick Discipline.

VII. 'Twas *Rusticus* * that first set me up-
on correcting my Humour, and bringing it to a better State: who prevented me from running into the Vanity of the *Sophists*, either by writing pretendingly upon Learning and Life, Haranguing upon Moral Subjects, or making a fantastical Appearance of being mightily taken up with Exercises, Discipline, and Business. This Philosopher kept me from being smitten with the Charms of Rhetorick and Poetry, from affecting the *Character* of a man of pleasantry, or the Dress and Mien of a Beau; or any thing of this kind which looks like Conceit and Affectation. He taught me to write Letters in a plain unornamented Stile, like that dated from *Sinnessa* to my Mother. By his Instructions I was perswaded to be easily reconcil'd to those who had misbehav'd themselves, and disoblig'd me. And of the same Master I learn'd to Read an Author carefully. Not to take up with a superficial View, or resign to every Noisy Impertinent; but to look thro' the Argument, and go to the Bottom of the Matter. And to conclude with him, he procur'd me a Copy of *Epictetus's* Works.

* A Stoick Philosopher.

* Most probably a Stoick Philosopher.

VIII. * *Apollonius* taught me to give my Mind its due Freedom, and disengage it from dependence upon Chance : And furnish'd me with such Precepts for Steadiness and Ballast, as not to Flute in Uncertainties, or be at a Loss about Design or Event ; nor so much as to look towards any thing uncountenanc'd by Reason and Truth : To maintain an equality of Temper under trying Circumstances, such as tedious Sickness, acute Pains, and loss of Children. To give him his due, his practice was a handsome Instance, that a Man may be Master of his own Behaviour, that he may be earnest and easy, force and unbend his Humour as occasion requires. To go on with him : The Heaviness and Impertinence of his Scholars could seldom throw him off the Hooks. And as for his Learning, and the peculiar Happiness of his manner in teaching, he was so far from being smitten with himself upon this Score, that one might easily perceive, he thought it one of the least things which belong'd to him. This great Man let me into the true secret of managing an Obligation, without either lessening my self, or being ungrateful to my Friend.

IX. The Philosopher *Sextus* recommended Good Humour to me, and to make Nature and Reason my Rule to Live by. He also gave me to understand, that good Usage and Authority

Authority were not inconsistent, but that a Family might be govern'd with the tenderness and concern of a Parent. By his Precedent I was instructed to appear with an unaffected Gravity, to study the Temper and Circumstances of my Friends in order to oblige them. To bear with the ignorant and unthinking ; to be Complaisant and Obliging to all People, even up to the Smoothness of Flattery ; and yet at the same time not to suffer in ones Quality, or grow a jot the Cheaper for't. Conversing with this Philosopher put me in a way how to draw up a true, intelligible, and methodical Scheme, for Life and Manners; and never so much as to shew the least sign of Anger, or any other disturbing Thought : But to be perfectly calm and indifferent, yet not in the latitude of letting my Fancy stand Neuter, and be unconcern'd for the Advantage of others : However, he let me see in himself, that a Man might show his Good-will significantly enough, without Noise and Transport, and likewise be very knowing, on this side Vanity and Ostentation.

X. *Alexander* the Grammarian taught me not to be ruggedly Critical about *Words*, nor fall foul upon People for improprieties of Phrase, or Pronunciation : But to set them right, by speaking the Thing properly

ly my self, and that either by way of Answer, Assent, or Enquiry; or by some such other remote, and Gentlemanly Correction.

XI. *Fronto* my Rhetorick Master, obliged me with the knowledge of Men. For the purpose; That Envy, Tricking, and Dissimulation, are the Character and Consequences of Tyranny; And that those we call Top Quality, have commonly not much of *Nature* in them.

XII. *Alexander* the Platonist advised me, that without Necessity I should never pretend not to be at Leisure to assist a Friend. Nor make Business an Excuse to decline the Offices of Humanity.

* A Stoick
Philosopher.

XIII. I learn'd of *Catullus* * not to slight a Friend for making a Remonstrance, tho' it should happen to be unreasonable, but rather to retrieve his Temper, and make him Easy. That like *Domitius* and *Athenodotus*, I should never be backward to give an Honourable Character of those who had the Care of my Education: And that I should always preserve an Hearty Affection for my Children, without any little Jealousies of being supplanted, or overtopp'd by them.

XIV. I am indebted to *Severus* for the due regard I have for my Family and Relations, and for keeping this Inclination from growing too strong for Justice and
Truth,

Truth. He likewise made me acquainted with the Character and Sentiments of those Celebrated Patriots and Philosophers, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Thraseas*, *Helvidius*, and *Dio*; and gave me the Idea of a Commonwealth, in which the general Interest was consider'd without Preference, or Partiality in the Constitution; And also of a Monarchy, where the Liberty of the Subject was principally regarded. To mention some more of my Obligations to him: 'Twas of him I learn'd not to grow Wise by Starts, and broken Fancies, but to be a constant Admirer of Philosophy and Improvement: That a Man ought to be Generous and Obliging; Hope the best of Matters, and never question the Affection of his Friends: To be free in shewing a reasonable dislike of another, and no less clear in his own Expectations and Desires; and not to put his Friends to the Trouble of Divining what he would be at.

XV. The Proficiency I made under **Maximus* was to Command my self, and not to be overborn with any Impotency of Passion or Surprise. To be full of Spirits under Sickness and Misfortune. To appear with Modesty, Obligingness, and Dignity of Behaviour. To turn off Business smoothly as it rises, without Drudging and Complaint; By observing the practice of this *Maximus*

* Another
Stoick Philo-
sopher.

M

I came

I came to understand, a Man might manage himself so as to satisfy the World, that there was nothing but Truth, Sincerity, and Fair play, in his Words and Actions: Attain that Greatness of Mind, as not to Admire, or Start at any Thing. Neither to Hurry an Enterprize, nor Sleep over it. Never to be puzzled, dispirited, or lye Grinning at a Disgust, or Disappointment. His way was to be neither Passionate, nor over-suspicious, Forward to do a good Turn, and to forgive an ill One. In short, He seem'd to be always in the possession of Virtue, and to have nothing which stood in need of Correction: And which is very remarkable, No Body ever fancied they were slighted by him; or had the Courage to think themselves his *Betters*; And to conclude with him, another part of his Philosophy was, not to be taken with Raillery and Jestings.

* The Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, who adopt-
ed our Au-
thor.

XVI. In my Father's* Conversation and Management I observ'd a smooth and inoffensive Temper; with great steadiness in keeping close to Measures judiciously taken: A Greatness proof against Vanity, and the Impressions of Pomp, and Power. From him a Prince might learn to love Business and Action, and be constantly at it. To be willing to Hear out any Proposal relating to Publick Advantage. To over-look no Bodies Merit, or Misbehaviour. To under-stand

stand the Critical Seasons, and Circumstances for Rigour, or Remissness; when 'twas proper to take up, and when to slacken the Reins of Government. To have no *He-Sweet-Hearts*, and Boy-Favourites: Not to stand upon Points of State and Prerogative; but to leave his Nobility at perfect Liberty in their Visits, and Attendance: And when he was upon his Progress, no Man lost his Favour for not being at leisure to follow the Court. To debate matters nicely, and thoroughly at the Council-Board, and then to stand by what was Resolv'd on. To be constant to a Friend, without Tiring, or Fondness. To be always satisfied and chearful: To reach forward into the Future, and manage accordingly. Not to neglect the least Concerns, but all without Hurry, or being Embarrass'd. Farther; By observing his Methods and Administration, I had the opportunity of Learning, how much it was the part of a Prince to check the Excesses of Panegyrick, and Flattery. To have his Magazines and Exchequer well furnish'd. To be Frugal in his Favours and Expences, without minding being Lampoon'd for his pains: Not to Worship the Gods to Superstition; Not to Court the Populace, either by Prodigality, or Compliment; but rather to be Reserv'd, Vigilant, and well-pois'd upon all Occasions, keeping things in a steady

Decorum, without chopping and changing of Measures. To enjoy the Plenty and Magnificence of a Sovereign Fortune, without Pride or Epicurism; And yet if a Campaign or Country happen to prove cross, not to be mortified at the loss of them: And to behave himself so, that no Man could charge him with Vanity, Flourish, and Pretendingness, with Buffooning, or being a Pedant; No, He was a Person Modest, Prudent, and well-weigh'd; scorn'd Flattery, and Fooling, and was thoroughly qualified both to govern himself, and others. In a word, he had nothing of the *Sophist* in him: And as for those that were *Philosophers* in earnest, he had a great Value for them, but without Reproaching those who were otherwise. To go on with him, He was Condescensive and Familiar in Conversation; and Pleasant too, but not to Tiresomeness and Excess. His Dress was neither Beauish, nor Negligent. As for his Health, he was not Anxious about it, like one fond of Living, and yet managed his Constitution with that Care as seldom to stand in need of the Assistances of Physick. Farther. He never envy'd and Brow-beat those that were Eminent in any Faculty, or Science; either Orators, Historians, or Others*, but on the contrary, encourag'd them

* This was then a considerable Commendation, for in the Reign of *Adrian*, an excellency of almost any kind, was sometimes Capital to the Owner. *Cassius, Capitolinus.*

them in their way ; and promoted their Reputation. He observ'd Decency and Custom in all his Actions, and yet did not seem to mind them : He was not Fickle and Fluttering in his Humour, but constant both to Place and Undertaking. And I have seen him after violent Fits of the Head-ach, return fresh, and vigorous to Business. He kept but few Things to himself, and those were Secrets of Government. He was very moderate and frugal in Publick Shews, Triumphal Arches, Liberalities, and such like ; being one that did not so much regard the Popularity as the Reason of an Action : 'Twas none of his custom to Bath at unusual Hours, or to be overrun with the Fancy of Building, to study Eating and Luxury ; to value the Curiosity of his Cloaths, or the Shape, and Person of his Servants. Indeed his Dress at his Country Palaces was very Ordinary and Plain, where he would scarcely so much as put on a Cloak without making an excuse for't. To take him altogether, There was nothing of Ruggedness, Immodesty, or Eagerness in his Temper. Neither did he ever seem to Drudg and Sweat at the Helm. Things were dispatch'd at leisure, and without being felt, and yet the Administration was carried on with great Order, Force, and Uniformity. Upon the whole ; part of *Socrates's* Character

rafter is applicable to him ; For he was so much Master of himself, that he could either Take or Leave those Conveniences of Life with respect to which, most People are either uneasie without them, or intemperate with them. Now to hold on with Fortitude in one Condition, and Sobriety in the other, is an argument of a great Soul, and an impregnable Virtue. And lastly, when his Friend *Maximus* was Sick, he gave me an instance how I ought to behave my self upon the like occasion.

XVII. I am to thank the Gods that my Grandfathers, Parents, Sister, Preceptors, Relations, Friends, and Domesticks, were almost all of them Persons of Probity. And that I never happen'd to disoblige, or misbehave my self towards any of them; notwithstanding if my Humour had been awaken'd, and push'd forward, I had been likely enough to have miscarried this way: But by the goodness of the Gods, I met with no Provocations to discover my Infirmities. 'Tis likewise their Providence, that my Childhood was no longer manag'd by my Grandfather's * Mistress; that my Youth was undebauch'd, and that I barr'd my Liberty for some time in standing clear from Engagements with Women: That I was observant of the Emperour my Father, and bred under him: who was the most proper Person

* Concubine.

Person living to put me out of conceit with Pride, and to convince me, that Authority may be supported without the Ceremony of Guards, without Richness, and Distinction of Habit, without Torches*, Statues, or such other Marks of Royalty and State; and that a Prince may shrink himself almost into the Figure of a private Gentleman; and yet act nevertheless, with all the Force and Majesty of his Character when the Government requires it. 'Tis the favour of the Gods that I happen'd to meet with a † Brother, whose Behaviour and Affection is such, as to contribute both to my Pleasure and Improvement: 'Tis also their Blessing that my Children were neither Heavy in their Heads, nor Mishapen in their Limbs: That I made no farther Advances in Rhetorick, Poetry, and such other Amusements, which possibly might have engag'd my Fancy too far, had I found my self a considerable Proficient: That without asking, I gave my *Governours* that share of Honour, and that sort of Business, which they seem'd to desire; and did not put them off from time to time with Promises and Excuse. That I had the Happiness of being acquainted with those celebrated Philosophers, *Apollonius*, *Rusticus*, and *Maximus*: For having a clear Idea of the Rules of Practice, and the true way of

* To have Torches, or Fire, always carried before them was an Honour peculiar to the Roman Emperours and Emperresses.

† *Lucius Verus* who was adopted by the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*.

Living; and the Impression frequently refresh'd; so that considering the extraordinary Assistances and Directions of the Gods, 'tis impossible for me to miss the Road of Nature and right Reason, unless by refusing to be guided by the Dictates, and almost sensible Inspirations of Heaven. 'Tis the Favour of these superior Beings, that my Constitution has held out so well, under a Life of Fatigue and Business: That I never had any infamous Correspondence with *Benedicta* or *Theodotus**; And that after some Amours, and intemperate Sallies, I took up, and recover'd: That when I fell out with *Rusticus*, as it frequently happen'd, I was not transported into any Act of Violence: That I had the satisfaction of my Mother's Life and Company a considerable while, tho' she was very near dying when she was Young. To give more Instances of their Bounty; 'Tis they that kept me from standing in need of any Man's Fortune: And that when I was willing to Relieve the Necessities of Others, I was never told that the *Exchequer*, or *Privy Purse*, were out of Cash. And farther, 'tis from them that my Wife is so very obsequious, and affectionate, and so remote from the Fancy of Figure and Expence: That I had choice of good *Governours* for my Children: That Remedies were prescrib'd me in a Dream,

* The one most probably a famous *Wench*, and the other a Court *Catamite*.

Dream, against Giddiness, and Spitting of Blood; As I remember it happen'd both at *Cajeta*, and * *Chrysa* : That when I had a mind to look into Philosophy, I met neither with a Pedant, nor a Knave to instruct me: That I did not spend too much time in Voluminous Reading, Chopping Logick, or Natural Philosophy: Now all these Points could never have been Compass'd, and Guarded, without a Protection from above, and the Gods presiding over Fate and Fortune.

*This was written in the Country of the * Quadi, in my Expedition against them.*

* A Town
in Troas,
D' Acier.

* In High
Germany.

BOOK II.

I. **R**emember to put your self in mind every Morning, That before Night 'twill be your Luck to meet with some Inquisitive Impertinent, with some ungrateful, and abusive Fellow; with some Knavish, Envious, or unsociable Churl or other. Now all this perverseness in them proceeds from their Ignorance of Good and Evil: And since its fallen to my share to understand the Natural Beauty of a good Action, and the Deformity of an ill One; since I am satisfied the Person disobliging is of Kin to me, and tho' we are not just of the same Flesh and

and Blood, yet our Minds are nearly related, being both extracted from the Deity; since I am likewise convinc'd that no Man can do me a real injury, because no Man can force me to misbehave my self; For these Reasons, I can't find in my Heart to Hate, or to be Angry with one of my own Nature and Family. For we are all made for mutual Assistance, no less than the Parts of the Body are for the Service of the whole; From whence it follows that Clashing and Opposition is perfectly unnatural: Now such an unfriendly Disposition is imply'd in Resentment and Aversion.

II. This Being of mine, all that's on't, consists of Body, Breath, and that *Part which governs*: Now would you examine your whole Composition? Pray then let your Library alone, what need you puzzle your Thoughts, and over-grasp your self? To come to the Enquiry: As for your *Carcass*, value it no more than if you were just expiring, and taking Leave on't. For what is it in comparifon? nothing but a little paltry Blood and Bones; a piece of Network, wrought up with a Company of Nerves, Veins, and Arteries twisted together. In the next place you are to examine what sort of Thing your Breath is: Why, only a little Air suck'd into your Lungs, and pump'd out again. The third part of
your

your Composition is your Mind, which was made for Government and Authority : Now here make a Stand ; consider you are an Old Man : Don't suffer this Noble Part of you under Servitude any longer : Let it not be overborn with Selfish Passions ; Let it not quarrel Fate, be uneasy at the *Present*, or afraid of the *Future*.

III. *Providence* shines clearly through the Administration of the World : Even Chance it self is not without Steadiness and *Nature* at the bottom ; being only an Effect of that Chain of Causes which are under a providential Regulation : Indeed all Things flow from this Fountain : Besides, There is Necessity, and General Convenience that Matters should lie as they do ; and to speak out, the Interest of the whole World, of which you are a part, is concern'd in't. Now that which is both the Product, and Support of Universal Nature, must by consequence be serviceable to every Part of it : But the World Subsists upon Alteration, and what it loses one way, it gets another ; For *Generation*, and *Corruption*, are no more than Terms of Reference, and Respect. Let these Reflections Satisfy you, and make them your Rule to Live by : As for Books, never be over-eager about them ; Such a fondness for Reading will be apt to perplex your Mind, and make you *Displeas'd* ;

pleas'd : Be sure therefore to Resign willingly, and go off in Good Humour, and heartily thank the Gods for what you have had.

IV. Remember how often you have postpon'd the minding your Interest, and slip'd those Opportunities the Gods have given you. 'Tis now high time to consider what sort of World you are part of, and from what kind of Governour of it you are De-seended : That you have a set Period assign'd you to Act in. And unless you improve it to Brighten and Compose your Thoughts, 'twill quickly run off with you, and be lost beyond Recovery.

V. Take care always to pursue the Business in Hand with Vigour and Application ; Remember your self a Man and a Roman ; And let the Action be done with all the Dignity and Advantage of Circumstance : Let unaffected Gravity, Humanity, Freedom, and Justice shine through it. And be sure you entertain no Fancies, which may give check to these Qualities. This Task is very practicable if you will but suppose very thing you are upon your Last ; If your Appetites and Passions don't cross up on your Reason ; If you stand clear of Rashness, and don't complain of your Destiny, and have nothing of Insincerity, and Self-Love to infect you. You see what a few
Points

Points a Man has to gain in order to a Happy, and Godlike Way of Living : For he that comes thus far, performs all which the Immortal Powers require of him.

VI. In earnest at this rate of Management thou usest thy self very coarsly ; ^{* * See § XVI.} neither hast thou much time left to do right to thy Honour. For Life hurrys off apace : Thine is almost up already ; And yet instead of paying a due Regard to thy own Reason, thou hast placed thy Happiness in the Fancies of other Men.

VII. Don't let Accidents disturb, or outward Objects engross your Thoughts, but keep your Mind quiet and unengaged, that you may be at Leisure to learn somewhat that's Good ; and don't ramble from one Thing to another. There is likewise another dangerous sort of Roving to be avoided : For some People are Busy and yet do Nothing ; They Fatigue and Wear themselves out, and yet drive at no Point, nor propose any general End of Action, or Design.

VIII. A Man can rarely miscarry by being Ignorant of anothers Thoughts, but he that does not attend to his own, is certainly Unhappy.

IX. The Reflections following ought always to be at Hand : To consider well the Nature of the Universe and my own ; together

gether with the Communication and Reference betwixt them ; And in what degree of Proportion and Quality, I stand with respect to the *whole* : And that no Mortal can hinder me from Acting, and Speaking suitably to the Condition of my Being.

* This is said
because the
Stoicks e-
steem'd all
Sins equal.

X. *Theophrastus* in comparing the Degrees of Faults, (as we commonly speak,*) talks like a Philosopher, where he affirms that those Instances of Misbehaviour which proceed from *Desire*, are greater than those of which *Anger* was the occasion. For a Man that is Angry seems to quit his Hold unwillingly, to be teaz'd out of his Reason, and start out of Rule before he is aware. But he that runs Riot out of Appetite and Pleasure is sway'd by a Libertine Principle, and appears a more scandalous Offender. The Philosopher therefore was certainly right in pronouncing upon the Difference of the Case. For the first looks like an injured Person, and is vext, and as it were forced into a Passion, whereas the other begins with Inclination, and commits the Fault with a Gust.

XI. Manage all your Actions and Thoughts in such a Manner as if you were just going to step into the Grave ; And what great matter is the Business of Dying ; if the

the Gods are in Being you can suffer nothing, for they'll do you no Harm: And if they are not, or take no Care of us Mortals; why then I must tell you, that a World without either Gods, or *Providence* is not worth a Man's while to live in. But there's no need of this Supposition; The Being of the Gods, and their Concern in Human Affairs is beyond Dispute: And as an Instance of this, They have put it in his Power not to fall into any Calamity properly so called. * And if other Misfortunes (as we count them,) had been really Evils, they would have provided against them too, and furnish'd them with Capacity to avoid them. And here I would gladly know how that which can't make the Man worse should make his Life so? To speak clearly, I can never be persuaded that the *First Cause* can be charg'd with the want of Power, Skill, or Inclination; to take Care of these Matters. Or that Nature should commit such an Error as to suffer things really Good, and Evil, to happen promiscuously to Good, and Bad Men. Now Living, and Dying, Honour and Infamy, Pleasure and Pain; Riches and Poverty, all these Things are the common Allotment of the Virtuous and Disorderly; why so? Because they have nothing of Intrinsic Creditableness, or Scandal in their Nature; And there-

* The Emperor means that no Man is under a Necessity of committing an immoral Action.

therefore to speak properly, are neither Good, nor Bad.

XII. A Mans Reason will easily convince him how quickly all Corporeal Things Moulder off, and vanish both in Appearance, and Memory; And are neither so much as seen, or talk'd of. The same Faculty will inform him of the Quality and Size of the Objects of Sense, particularly those which Charm us with Pleasure, frighten us with Pain, or are most admir'd upon the Score of Reputation. A little thinking will show a Man how insignificant, despicable, and paultry these Things are, and how soon they wither and go off: 'Twill show one what sort of Bulk those People are off, upon whose Fancy and Good Word, the Being of Fame depends. Thus a Man may examine the Point of Dying, which if once abstracted from the Pomp and Terror of the Idea, 'twill be found nothing more than a pure Natural Action. Now he that dreads the Course of Nature is a Child. Besides there's general Advantage in the Case. * Lastly, we should consider how nigh we are Related to the Deity, and in what part of our Being, and what becomes of that Honourable side, when the Composition is broken.

* See § III.

XIII. Nothing can be more unhappy than the Curiosity of that Man that Ranges every

every where, and digs into the Earth for Discovery ; That is wonderfully busy to force a Passage into other Peoples Thoughts, and dive into their Bosom ; But does not consider that his own Mind is large enough for Enquiry, and Entertainment. And that the Care and Improvement of himself will afford him sufficient Business. And how is all this to be done ? Why by being neither Passionate nor Heedless, nor yet displeas'd upon any account either with the Gods or Men. For as for the Gods their Administration ought to be Revered upon the Score of Excellency, and Station. And as for Men, their Actions should be well taken for the sake of Common Kindred. Besides, They are often to be pitied for their Ignorance of Good and Evil : Which Incapacity of Discerning between Moral Qualities, is a greater Misfortune than that of a Blind Man, who can't distinguish between White and Black.

XIV. Suppose you were to Live Three Thousand, or if you please, three Millions of Years, yet you are to remember that no Man can lose any other Life than that which he lives by, neither is he possess'd of any other than that which he Loses. From whence it follows, that the longest Life, as we commonly speak, and the shortest, come all to the same Reckoning. The Proof lies

N

thus :

thus: The *Present* is of the same Duration every where, and of the same Extent to all People; Every Bodies Loss therefore is of the same Bigness, and reaches no farther than to a *Point* of Time. For to speak strictly, No Man is capable of losing either the *Past*, or the *Future*; For how can any one be deprived of what he has not. So that under this Consideration there are two Notions worth the laying up; One is, that a little while is enough to view the World in; for things are Repeated, and come over again apace: Nature Treads in a Circle, and has much the same Face through the whole Course of Eternity. And therefore it signifies not a Farthing, whether a Man stands gazing here an Hundred, or a Hundred Thousand Years; for all that he gets by it is only to see the same Sight so much the oftener. The other Hint is, that when the longest, and shortest Lived Persons come to die, their Loss is equal; For as I observe the *Present* is their *All*, and they can Suffer no Farther.

XV. *Monimus* the *Cynick* Philosopher used to say that all Things were but meer Fancy and Opinion; pretending there was no infallible Rule for the Test of Truth and Certainty. Now this rallying Expression may undoubtedly prove serviceable, provided one does not turn *Sceptick*, and carry it too far.

XVI.

XVI. There are several Ways of Behaviour by which a Man may sink his Quality, use his Person very scurvily, and 'tis possible without being aware on't. And this in the *First* place is more remarkably done by murmuring at any thing which Happens. By doing thus, He makes Himself a sort of an Excrecence of the World, breaks off from the Constitution of Nature, and instead of a Limb becomes an Ulcer. Again, He falls under the same Misfortune who hates any Person, or Crosses upon him; with an intention of Mischief, which is the case of the Angry and Revengeful. Thirdly, A Man Lessens and Affronts himself when he is overcome by Pleasure, or Pain: Fourthly, When he makes use of Art, Trick- ing, and Falshood, in Word, or Action. Fifthly, When he does not know what he would be at in a Business, but runs on without Thought or Design; whereas even the least Undertaking ought to be aim'd at some End: Now the End of Rational Be- ings is to be Govern'd by the Laws of Nature, and the Interest of the *Universe*; For these two, are both the oldest, and the best Rules, we can go by.

XVII. The Extent of Human Life is but a Point; *Matter* is in a perpetual Flux: The Faculties of Sence, and Perception, are Weak, and Unpenetrating: The Body

slenderly put together, and but a Remove from Putrefaction: The Soul a rambling sort of a Thing. Fortune and Futurity, are not to be guess'd at; And Fame does not always stand upon Desert, and Judgment. In a Word; That which belongs to the Body streams off like a River; And what the Soul has is but Dream and Bubble: Life, to take it rightly, is no other than a Campaign, or Course of Travels; and Posthumous Fame has little more in't than Silence, and Obscurity. * What is it then that will stick by a Man and prove significant? Why, Nothing but Wisdom, and Philosophy. Now the Functions of this Quality consist in keeping the Mind from Injury and Disgrace; superior to Pleasure and Pain, free from Starts and Rambling, without any Varnish of Dissembling, and Knavery, and as to Happiness, Independent of the Motions of another. Farther, Philosophy brings the Mind to take things as they fall, and acquiesce in the Distributions of Providence; In as much as all Events proceed from the same Cause with it self; and above all to have an easy Prospect of Death, as being nothing more than dissolving the Composition, and taking the Elements to Pieces. Now if the Elements themselves are never the worse for running off into one another; What if they should all Unclasp, and

* See Book
3. Sect. 10.
Book 4.
Sect. 35.

and change their Figure? Why should any Man be concern'd at the Consequence? All this is but Nature's Method; now Nature never does any Mischief.

Written at Carnuntum a Town of Pannonia, or Hungary.*

* Supposed to be Presburg.

B O O K III.

I. **WE** ought not only to remember, that Life is perpetually wearing off, and in a Literal Consumption; but also to consider that if a Man's Line should happen to be longer than ordinary, yet 'tis uncertain whether his Mind will keep pace with his Years, and afford him Sense enough for Business, and Speculation, and to look into the Nature, Reasons, and References, of Things both Humane, and Divine. For if the Understanding falls off, and the Man begins to Dote, what does he signify? 'Tis true the meer Animal Life may go on, he may Breathe and Nourish, and be furnished with Perception and Appetite; But to make any proper use of himself, to work his Notions to any Clearness and Consistency; to state Duty and Circumstance, and Practice to Decency and Exactness; to know whether it is time for him to walk out of the World or not, * As to all these noble Fun-

* The Secretary allows'd Self-Management.

ctions of Reason, and Judgment, the Man is perfectly dead already. It concerns us therefore to push forward, and make the most of our matters, for Death is continually advancing ; and besides that, our Understanding sometime dies before us, and then the true Purposes and Significancy of Life are at an End.

II. 'Tis worth ones while to observe that the least design'd and almost unbespoken Effects of Nature, are not without their Beauty : Thus, to use a Similitude, there are Cracks, and little Breaks on the Surface of a Loaf, which tho' never intended by the Baker, have a sort of Agreeableness in them ; which invite the Appetite. Thus Figs when they are most ripe, open and gape : And Olives when they fall of themselves and are near decaying, are particularly pretty to look at. To go on, The bending of an Ear of Corn, the Brow of a Lion, the Foam of a Boar, and many other Things, if you take them singly, are far enough from being handsome, but when they are look'd on as parts of somewhat else, and consider'd with Reference, and Connexion, are both Ornamental, and Affecting. Thus, if a Man has but Inclination and Thought enough to examine the *Product* of the Universe, he'll find the most unpromising Appearances not unaccountable ; and that the more remote

Ap-

Appendages have somewhat to Recommend them. One thus prepared will perceive the Beauty of Life, as well as that of Imitation; and be no less pleased to see a Tyger Grin in the *Tower*, than in a *Painter's* Shop. Such a one will find something agreeable in the Decays of Age, as well as in the Blossom of Youth: I grant many of these Things won't Charm us at the first Blush: To Pronounce rightly, a Man must be well affected in the Case, and thoroughly acquainted with the Methods and Harmony of Nature.

III. *Hippocrates*, who cured so many Diseases, was not able to Recover himself: The *Chaldeans*, who foretold other Peoples Death, at last met with their own. *Alexander*, *Pompey*, and *Julius Cesar*, who had destroyed so many Towns, and Cut-off so many Thousands in the Field, were forc'd at last to March off themselves: *Heracitus* who argued so much about the World's being set on Fire, perish'd himself by a Counter-Element, and was Drown'd in a Dropsy.

Democritus was eaten up with * Lice, and *Socrates* was dispatched by another sort of † Vermin. And what are these Instances for? Why, to shew what we must all come to. Look you; You are got Abroad, you have made your Voyage and your Port; Debark then without any more ado; if you hap-

* In this story about *Democritus*, the Emperor seems to be singular.
† The Informers *Antony* and *Decimus*.

pen to Land upon another World, there will be Gods enough to take care of you : But if it be your Fortune to drop into nothing ; why then your Virtue will be no more solicted with Pleasure and Pain ; then you'll have done drudging for your Carcass : whereas as Matters go now, the best Moyety of you has sometimes the worst Office : For if I mistake not, the one is all Soul, and Spirit, whereas the other, is but Dirt, and Putrefaction.

IV. For the Future, don't spend your Thoughts upon other People, unless you are put upon it by Common Interest. For the prying into foreign Business, that is musing upon the Passi, Fancies, and Contrivances of another, and guessing at the *what*, and *why*, of his Actions ; All this does but make a Man forget himself, and Ramble from his own Reason. He ought therefore not to work his Mind to no purpose, nor throw a superfluous Link into the Chain of Thought ; And more especially, to stand clear of Curiosity, and Malice, in his Enquiry. And to come Home, and make all sure ; Let it be your way to think upon nothing, but what you could freely Discover, if the Question was put to you : So that if your Soul was thus laid open, there would nothing appear, but what was Sincere, Good-natur'd, and publick Spirited ;
not

not so much as one Libertine, or Luxurious Fancy, nothing of Litigiousness, Envy, or unreasonable Suspicion, or any thing else, which would not bear the Light, without Blushing. A Man thus qualified, may be allowed the first Rank among Mortals; he is a sort of Priest, and Minister of the Gods, and makes a right use of the Deity within *him; By the Assistance of which he is preserv'd uninfected with Pleasure, invulnerable against Pain; out of the reach of Injury, and above the Malice of Ill People. Thus he Wrestles for the noblest Prize, † stands firm on the most slippery Ground, and keeps his Feet against all his Passions; To go on with him, his Honesty is right Sterling, and touches as well as it looks; he always resigns to Providence, and meets his Fate with Pleasure: He never minds other Peoples Thoughts, or Actions, unless Publick Reason and General Good require it. No; He confines himself to his own Business, and contemplates upon his Post, and Station; And endeavours to do the First as it should be, and believe well of the Latter: I say of the Latter; for Fate is both inevitable, and convenient. He considers that all Rational Beings are of Kin; and that General Kindness and Concern for the whole World, is no more than a piece of Humanity. That every ones Good Opinion is not worth

* So the Emperour calls the Soul or Reasoning Faculty.

† An Allusion to the Diversions and Wrestling in the Circus.

worth the gaining; but only of those who live up to the Dignity of their Nature. As for others, he knows their way of Living, and their Company; their Publick, and their Private Disorders; And why indeed should he value the Commendation of such People, who are so Vitious and Fantastical, as not to be able to please themselves?

* The Mind,
or Powers of
Reason.

* To Die.

V. Be not Haled, Selfish, Unadvised, or Passionate in any Thing you do; Don't affect Quaintness, and Points of Wit: neither Talk, nor Meddle more than is necessary. Take care that your Tutelar Genius * has a creditable Charge to preside over; That you appear in the Character of your Sex, and Age; Act like a Roman Emperour, that loves his Country: and be always in a readiness to quit the Field, * at the first *sounding of the Retreat*. In the mean time manage your Credit so, that you need neither Swear your self, nor want a Voucher. Let your Air be chearful; depend not upon Foreign Supports, nor beg your Happiness of another. And in a word, never throw away your Legs, to stand upon Crutches.

VI. If in the whole compass of Humane Life, you find any thing preferable to Justice and Truth, to Temperance, and Fortitude; To a Mind Self-satisfied with its own Rational Conduct, and entirely resign'd to Fate: If
I say

I say you know any Thing better than this, never balk your Fancy, count it your Supreme Happiness, and make the most on't you can. But if there is nothing more valuable than that the *Genius* and Spirit within you * should be Absolute in its Reason, Master of its Appetites, enquire nicely into the Quality of an Object. If there's nothing more to be wish'd than that with *Socrates*, it should stand off from the Impressions of Sense; submit to the Government of the Gods, and be helpful, and benevolent to Mankind; If all things are Trifles with respect to this, don't divide your Inclinations, misplace your Thoughts, and weaken your Satisfaction, by any Foreign Pursuits: Rational Choice, and Benevolent Design, should never be check'd. But if you are for trying Tricks, and compounding the Matter, If Popularity and Power, if Wealth and Pleasure once strike your Fancy, you're gone: These new Favourites will govern your Motions, and Ride you at Discretion. Let your Choice therefore run all one way, and be bold, and resolute for that which is *Best*. Now Use and Significancy, is the proper Test of this Quality: So that the Question will be whether a Thing is serviceable to your Rational Capacity; If so, close with the Offer; But if 'tis no more than a sensual Advantage, hold your Hand;

And

And that you may Distinguish rightly, keep your Judgment Unbyass'd, and don't let it stick in the outside of Matters.

VII. Don't be fond of any Thing, or think that for your Interest, which makes you break your Word, quit your Modesty, be of a Dissembling, Suspicious, or Outragious Humour ; which puts you upon Hating any Person, and enclines you to any Practice, which wont bear the Light, and look the World in the Face. For he that values the Virtue of his Mind, and the Dignity of his Reason, before all other Things, is easy, and well fortified, and has nothing for a Tragedy to work on ; He laments under no Misfortune, and wants neither Solitude nor Company ; And which is still more, he neither flies Death, nor pursues it ; but is perfectly indifferent about the Length, and Shortness of his Life. And if he was to expire this Moment, the want of Warning would not surprise him ; He'd ne'er struggle for more time, but go off with Decency and Honour. Indeed, he is solicitous about Nothing but his own Conduct, and for fear he should fail in the Functions of Reason, Prudence, and Generosity.

VIII. If you examine a Man that has been well Disciplined by Philosophy ; you'll find nothing that's Unsound, Foul, or False in him : Nothing that's Servile, Foppish, or Fond ;

Fond ; No selfish, no obnoxious, and absconding Practices : To give him his due, his Business is always done ; His Life may be short, but never imperfect : So that no Body can say he goes off the Stage before the Play is quite Acted.

IX. The Happiness of your Life depends upon the Quality of your Thoughts, therefore guard accordingly : And take care that you entertain no Notions unsuitable to Virtue and reasonable Nature ; Now in order to this, you must be wary in your Assent, Obedient to the Gods, and Benevolent to Mankind.

X. As for other speculations, throw them all out of your Head, excepting those few Precepts above mention'd ; Remember withal, that every Man's Life lies all within the *Present* ; For the *Past* is spent, and done with, and the *Future* is uncertain : Now the *Present* if strictly examin'd, is but a point of Time. Well then ! Life moves in a very narrow Compass ; yes, and Men live in a poor Corner of the World too : And the most lasting Fame will stretch but to a sorry Extent. The Passage on't is uneven and craggy, and therefore it can't run far. The frequent Breaks of *Succession* drop it in the Conveyance : For alas ! poor transitory Mortals, know little either of themselves, or of those who were long before them.

XI. To

XI. To the foregoing Hints you may add this which follows. And that is, to survey and define every Object and Thought extraordinary; and that with such Penetration, as to dissect it throughout, pull off its Mask and Fucus, and view it in its naked Essence: To call the Whole, and the Parts by their true Names; and be truly informed of their Force and Nature, both Single, and in Composition. For nothing is so likely to raise the Mind to a pitch of Greatness, as to bring Accidents, Persons, and Pretensions to a true Test. For instance, To be ready to tell ones self, to what sort of purpose this thing serves, and what sort of World 'tis which makes use on't? what proportion of value it bears to the *Universe*, and what to Men in particular; to Men I say, who are Citizens of that great * Capitol, in respect of which all other Towns, are no more than single Families. To return: My Business is to examine nicely into the present Object; to know what 'tis made on, and how long 'twill last; what Virtue it requires of me, and gives occasion to; whether Fortitude, or Truth, Good Nature, or Good Faith, Simplicity, Frugality, and so forth; upon every Impression and Accident, a Man should be ready to pronounce, This was sent me by Heaven, This is a Consequence of Destiny; This comes from Chance, over-ruled

* The
World.

ruled by Providence ; And this other was done by one of the same Clan, † Family, and Corporation with my self ; 'Tis true, I don't like the Usage, but the Man was a Stranger to the Relation he stood in ; and knew no Better. But I am under none of this Mistake, and therefore I will be Just, and Friendly to him, and treat him by the Laws of *Common Society* ; for why should any Man forfeit for his Ignorance, and lose a Natural Right. However, as to Things *Indifferent*, || I shall take care to look into them too, and rate them according to their respective Value.

† See Book
2 Sect. 1.

|| The Stoicks reckon-
ed all things
indifferent,
excepting
Honesty and
Virtue.

XII. If you will be govern'd by Reason, and manage what lies before you with Industry, Vigour, and Temper ; if you won't run out after New Game, but keep your Mind Stanch, and well Disciplined, as if this trial of Behaviour was your Last : And then, if you will but stick to your Measures, and be True to the Best of your Self ; and keep your Fears and Desires from going farther : If living up to your Nature, minding an opportunity, and standing boldly by the Truth : If these Things I say will satisfy you, you may be a Happy Man ; now if you are but willing, the World can't hinder you from doing all this.

XIII. As your Surgeons have their Instruments ready for sudden Occasions, so
be

be you always furnish'd with Rules and Principles, to let you into the Knowledge and Extent of Things Humane and Divine; for these Two have their Reference and Connexion with each Other. The consequence is, that your whole Practice ought to Turn upon this supposition: For without looking into the Nature and Administration of the Gods, you'll fail in your Behaviour towards Men; and thus the Reasoning holds backward, to the other side of the Argument.

XIV. Don't go too far in your Books, and overgrasp your self. Alas! you have
 * *D'Actius* no time left to peruse your * Diary, to read over the Greek and Roman History, or so much as your own *Common-Place-Book*; which you Collected to serve you when you were Old: Come, don't flatter and deceive your self; Look to the main Chance, to the end and design of Reading, and mind Life more than Notion: I say, if you have a kindness for your Person, drive at the practice, and help your self, for that is in your own power.

XV. Many People don't know the true Compass and Extent of Language: For instance, They an't aware in how many Senses the words to *Steal*, to *Buy*, to *Sow*, to *be at Quiet*, may be taken; nor how much meaning the Duties of Life carry in them.
 These

These Actions are commonly either straitned in the Notion, or misapplied in the End. To say no more on't, He that would view this Matter rightly, must think a little, and look inward.

XVI. There are three things which belong to a Man, the Body, the Soul, and the Mind : And as to the † Properties of the Division, Sensation belongs to the Body, Appetite to the Soul, and Reason to the Mind. To have the Senses affected, and be stamp'd with the Impression of an Object, is common to Brutes and Cattle : To be hurried and convuls'd with Passion, is the Quality of Beasts of Prey, and Men of Pleasure, of Libertines and * Tyrants ; of Atheists and Traytors, and of those who don't care what they do when no body sees them ; and since these Qualities are both Coarse and Common, lets find out the Mark of a Man of Probity : His distinction then lies, in keeping Reason at the Head of Practice, and being Easy in his Condition. To live in a Crowd of Objects, without suffering either in his Sense, his Virtue, or his Quiet. To have a good understanding at *Home*, and be govern'd by that Divine Principle *within* him : To be all Truth in his Words, and Justice in his Actions : And if the whole World should disbelieve his Integrity, dispute his Character, and

† The Emperor makes a distinction between the Soul and the Mind, or Spirit.

The Greek mentions Phalaris and Nero.

question

question his Happiness, he'd neither take it ill in the least, nor alter his measures; but pursue the *Ends* of Living, with all the Honesty, Ease, and Resignation imaginable.

B O O K IV.

I. **W**hen the Mind Acts up to Nature and is rightly Dispos'd, she takes Things as they come, stands loose in her Fancy, and Tacks about with her Circumstances: As for fixing the Condition of her Fortune, she is not at all Solicitous about that. 'Tis true, she is not perfectly Indifferent, she moves forward with a Preference in her Choice; but then 'tis always with a Reserve of Acquiescence, and being easy in the Event. And if any thing comes cross, she falls to Work upon't, and like Fire converts it into Fuel. For as this Element when 'tis weak is easily put out; but when once well Kindled, it seizes upon what lies next, subdues it into its own Nature, and encreases by Resistance.

II. Let every Action tend to some Point, and be perfect in its Kind.

III. 'Tis the Custom of People to go to unfrequented Places and Country Seats for Retirement; And this has been your Method formerly. But after all, this is but a
Vulgar

Vulgar Fancy. For 'tis in your Power to *withdraw* into your self whenever you have a mind to't. Now ones own Breast is a place the most free from Crowd and Noise in the World, if a Man's Retrospections are easy, his Thoughts entertaining, and his Mind well in Order. Your way is therefore to make frequent use of this Retirement, and *Refresh* your Virtue in't. And to this End, be always provided with a few short uncontested Notions, to keep your Understanding True, and make you easy in your Business. For Instance, what is it that Troubles you? Is it the Wickedness of the World, and the ill Usage you meet with? If this be your Case, Out with your Antidote, and consider, That Mankind were made for mutual Advantage; that Forbearance is one part of Justice, and that People misbehave themselves against their Will. * Consider likewise, how many Men have embroyld themselves, and spent their Days in Disputes and Animosities; and what did they get by it? Why They had more Trouble and it may be, less of Life than they would have had. Be Quiet then, and don't disturb your self to no purpose. But it may be the Government of the World does not please you: Take out t'other Notion, and Argue thus. Either *Providence*, or *Chance* sits at the Helm;

See Book
3. Sect. 14
where the
Emperor
gives his
reasons for
this para-
dox.

If the First, the Administration can't be question'd ; if the Latter, there's no mending on't. Besides, you may remember that the *World* is as it were one Great City and Corporation. But possibly the ill State of your Health afflicts you. Pray Reflect, your Soul does not lie in your Lungs, nor your Reason in your Breath, so that if you are somewhat Asthmatick, or out of Order, 'tis no such great Matter. No, Not if your Mind will retire, and take a view of her own Privilege and Power. And when she has done this, Recollect her Philosophy about Pleasure and Pain ; And to which she has formerly assented. Well ! It may be the concern of *Fame* sits hard upon you. If you are pinch'd here, consider how quickly all things vanish, and are forgotten ; what an immense Chaos there stands, what an Extent of Darkness and Confusion ; on either side of Eternity. * Applause ! consider the Emptiness of the Sound, the Precarious Tenure, the little Judgment of those that give it us ; and the narrow Compass 'tis confin'd to : For the whole Globe is but a Point ; And of this Little how Little is Inhabited ? And where 'tis Peopled, you'll have no Reason to Brag either of the number, or Quality of your Admirers. Upon the whole ; Don't forget to Retire into the Seat of your Reason ; And above all Things,

Let

* Of Eternity past, and Eternity to come.

Let there be no Haling, nor struggling in the Case, but move Freely and Gracefully, and manage Matters like a Man of Sense and Spirit, like a Burgher of the whole World, and like a Creature that must die shortly. And among the rest of your Stock, let these two Maxims be always ready ; First, That 'tis not *Things*, but *Thoughts*, which give Disturbance ; For *Things* keep their Distance, and Tease no Body, till Fancy raises the Spleen, and grows Untoward. * The Second, is to consider, that the Scene is just shifting, and sliding off into nothing : And that you your self have seen abundance of Great Alterations. In a word, generally speaking, the World is all Revolution and Conduct, † little better than Fancy.

See Book
5. Sect. 19.
Book 8.
Sect. 47. &
alib.]

† See Book
2. Sect. 15.

IV. If the Faculty of Understanding lies in Common amongst us all, then Reason, the Effect of it, must be common too : That Reason, I say, which Governs Practice by Commands and Prohibitions. From whence we may conclude, that Mankind are under one Common Regulation : And if under one Common Law, they must be Fellow Citizens, and belong to the same Body Politick. From whence 'twill follow, that the whole World is upon the Matter but one common Wealth ; For certainly there is no other *Society* in which

Mankind can be Incorporated. Now this common Fund of Understanding, Reason, and Law, is a Commodity of this same Country, or which way do Mortals light on't ? For as the four *Distinctions* in my Body belong to some General Head, and *Species of Matter*; For Instance ; The *Earthy Part* in Me comes from the Division of *Earth* ; The *Watery* belongs to another *Element* ; The *Airy Particles* flow from a Third Spring, and those of Fire from one Distinct from all the former. For by the Way, *Nothing* can no more produce *Something*, than *Something* can sink into *Nothing* : And thus in Proportion to the Reasoning upon my Constitution, our *Understanding* must have a Cause, and proceed from some Quarter or other.

V. Death, and Generation are both Mysteries of Nature, and somewhat resemble each other : For the first does but untwist those Elements, the latter had wrought together : Now there's nothing that a Man needs be ashamed of in all this ; Nothing but what his Reason may Digest ; And what results from his make, and Constitution.

VI. Practices and Humours are generally of a Piece ; Such Usage from such sort of Men, is in a manner necessary : To be surpriz'd at it, is in effect to Wonder at the
eager

eager Quality of Vinegar. * Pray consider that both you, and your Enemy are dropping off, and that e'er long your very Memories will be extinguished.

* 'Tis probable the Emperor made this Reflexion upon receiving some great injury

VII. Don't suppose you are Hurt, and your Complaint ceases, and then no Damages will be done.

VIII. That which does not make a Man worse, does not make him Live worse; And by consequence he has no Harm by't either one way, or t'other.

IX. Nature was oblig'd to Act in this manner, for her own Convenience.

X. Take notice that all Events † turn upon Merit, and Congruity. Which if you observe nicely, you'll not only perceive a Connexion between Causes and Effects, but a Sovereign Distribution of Justice; which presides in the Administration, and gives every Thing its Due. Go on with this Remark; And let all your Actions answer the Character of a Good Man, I mean a Good Man, in the Strictness and Notion of Philosophy.

† That is, which proceed from the first Cause.

XI. If a Man Affronts you, don't go into his Opinion, or Think just as He would have you; No, look upon Things as Reality presents them, and form your Judgment accordingly.

XII. Be always provided with Principles for the following Purposes: First, To

engage in nothing but what Reason Dictates, what the Sovereign and Legislative Part of you shall suggest, for the Interest of Mankind. Secondly; To be disposed to quit your Opinion, and alter your Measures, when a Friend shall give you Good Grounds for so doing. But then the Reasons of changing your Mind ought to be drawn from the Considerations of Justice, Publick Good, or some such Generous Motive; And not because it pleases your Fancy, or promotes your Reputation.

XIII. Have you any Sense in your Head? Yes: Why don't you make use on't then? For if this faculty does but do its Part, I can't see what more you need with for.

XIV. At present your Nature is Distinguish'd, and stands apart; But e'er long you'll vanish into the *Whole*: Or if you please you'll be retrun'd into that Active and Prolifick Reason which gave you your Being.

* The Stoicks suppos'd the Soul a part of the Deity; and that it was absorb'd in him after Death.

† This thought is to shew that the difference between a long and short life, as we call it, is inconsiderable with respect to Eternity.

XV. When Frabkincense is thrown upon the Altar, one Grain usually falls before another; but then the Distance of Time is Insignificant.

XVI. The seeming Singularities of Reason quickly wear off: Do but stick close to the Principles of Wisdom, and those who take you now for a Monkey, or a Madman, will make a God of you in a Weeks time.

XVII.

XVII. Don't manage as if you had ten Thousand Years to throw away: Look you; Death stands at your Elbow; make the most of your Minute, and be Good for Something, while 'tis in your Power.

XVIII. What a great deal of Time and Ease that Man gains who is not troubled with the Spirit of Curiosity: Who lets his Neighbours Thoughts and Behaviour alone, confines his Inspections to himself; And takes care of the Points of Honesty and Conscience. Truly as *Agatho* observes, this malicious, trifling Humour ought to be check'd. In a Word, we must keep to our own Business, for Rambling, and Imper-tinence is not to be endur'd.

XIX. He that is so very solicitous about being Talk'd of when he is Dead, and makes his *Memory* his Inclination, does not consider that all his Admirers will quickly be gone. That his Fame will go less in the next Generation, and Flag upon the Course; and like a Ball that's Handed from one to another, 'twill be dropt at last; but granting your Monuments and your *Men* immortal, what's their Panegyrick to you, when you are Dead, and know nothing of the matter? And if you were Living, what would Commendation signify, unless for the convenience of Imitation? To conclude; if you depend thus servilely upon the

the good Word of other People; you'll act below your Nature, and neglect the improvement of your self.

XX. Whatever is Good, has that Quality from it self; 'tis finish'd by its own Nature, and Commendation is no part of it. Why then a thing is neither better, nor worse, for being prais'd. This holds concerning Things which are call'd *Good* in the common way of speaking as the products of Nature and Art; what do you think then of that which deserves this Character in the strictest Propriety? Do you imagine it wants any Thing Foreign to compleat the Idea? What is your Opinion of Truth, good Nature and Sobriety? Do any of these Virtues stand in need of a good Word; or are they the worse for a bad one? I hope a Diamond will shine ne'er the less for a Man's being silent about the worth on't; Neither is there any Necessity of Flourishing upon a piece of Gold, to preserve the Intrinsic of the Mettal.

XXI. If Humane Souls have a Being after Death, which way has the Air made Room for them from all Eternity? Pray how has the Earth been Capacious enough to receive all the Bodies buried in't? The Resolution of this latter Question will satisfy the former. For as a Corps after some continuance turns into Dust, and makes
way

way for another; So when a Man dies, and the Spirit is let loose into the Air it holds out for some time, after which it wears off and drops in Pieces. And when Things come to this Pass, 'tis either Renew'd, and Lighted up into another Soul; * or else absorb'd into that of the *Universe*; And thus they make room for Succession. And this may serve for an answer upon the Supposition of the Soul's surviving the Body. Besides, We are not only to consider the vast number of Bodies dispos'd of in the manner above mentioned; but what an infinite are every Day devour'd by Mankind, and other Living Creatures, and as it were buried in their Stomachs; And yet by the Transmutation of the Food into Blood and Humours, and by the Conveyance of Perspiration, there's Stowage enough. And now which way can a Man take a Prospect of the Truth, and trace the History of Nature? Why in order to this, you must divide the Thing in Question, into *Matter*, and *Form* *.

XXII. Don't run Riot: keep your Understanding True, † and your Intentions Honest.

XXIII. Whatever is agreeable to you, O *Universe* || is so to me too. Your Things are never Mistim'd. Your Methods are acceptable, and your *Seasons* all Spring and

Sum-

* The Stoicks held the Soul a Composition of Fire and Air, but Fire was the Predominant Element.

* By *Form* the Stoicks meant God, or the Efficient Cause of all Things.

† See Book 5 Sect. 36. Book 7.

|| By the World the Stoicks sometimes understood God.

Summer to me! From *You* all Things proceed, subſiſt in you, and Return to *You*. And if the Poet call'd *Athens* the *City Belov'd* by *Cecrops*, why mayn't the *World* be ſtyl'd the *Favourite Town* of *Jupiter*?

XXIV. If *you would Live at your Eaſe*, ſays *Democritus*, *Manage but a few Things*. I think it had been better, if He had ſaid, Do nothing but what is neceſſary; and what becomes one made for *Society*; Nothing but what *Reason* preſcribes, and in the *Order* too ſhe preſcribes it. For by this Rule a Man may both ſecure the *Quality*, and draw in the *Bulk* of his *Buſineſs*; And have the double *Pleaſure* of making his *Actions* *Good*, and *Few*, into the *Bargain*. For the greateſt part of what we ſay and do, being unneceſſary; If this were but once retrench'd, we ſhould have both more *Leiſure*, and leſs *Disturbance*. And therefore before a Man ſets forward He ſhould ask himſelf this *Queſtion*; Am I not upon the *Verge* of ſomething unneceſſary and impertinent? Farther; We ſhould apply this Hint to what we *Think*, as well as to what we *Do*; For *Impertinence* of *Thought*; draws *Unneceſſary Action* after it.

XXV. Bring the Matter to an *Issue*, make an *Experiment* upon your ſelf, and examine your *Proficiency* in a *Life of Virtue*; Try how you can acquieſce in your *Fate*, and whe-

whether your own Honesty, and Good Nature will content you.

XXVI. Have you seen one sort of Fortune? Pray view t'other too; ne'er be disturb'd, but reduce your *Person* to its natural Bulk, and be not Concern'd for more than belongs to you. Is any Man guilty of a Fault? 'Tis to himself then: Has any Advantage happen'd to you? 'Tis the Bounty of Fate: 'Twas all of it preordain'd you by the Universal Cause. Upon the whole; Life is but short, therefore be Just, and Prudent, and make your most on't. And when you Divert your self, be always upon your Guard.

XXVII. The World is either the Effect of Contrivance or Chance; If the latter, 'tis a World for all that, that is to say, 'Tis a Regular and Beautiful Structure. Now can any Man discover Symmetry in his own Shape, and yet take the *Universe* for an Heap of Rubbish? I say the *Universe*, in which the very Discord, and Confusion of the Elements, settles into Harmony and Order. *

XXVIII. There are several sorts of scandalous Tempers, some Malicious, and some effeminate, others Obstinate, Brutish, and Savage. Some Humours are Childish, and Silly: some False, and others Scurrilous, some Mercenary, and some Tyrannical.

XXIX.

* This Section is levelled against the Hypothesis of Epicurus.

XXIX. Not to know what's *in* the World, and not to know what's *Done* in the World, comes much to the same Thing, and a Man is one way no less a Stranger, than t'other. To proceed ; He is no better than a Deserter that renounces Publick Reason, and the Laws of *Providence*. He is a Blind Man, that Winks with his Understanding ; And he is a Beggar that is not furnished at *Home*, but wants the Assistance of another. He that frets himself Sore because Things don't happen just as he would have them, is but a sort of an *Ulcer* of the World ; By murmuring at the Course of Nature, he quits the Universal Body, and gains only the Distinction of a Disease. Never considering that the same Cause which produced the displeasing Accident, made him too. And lastly, He that is Selfish, narrow-Soul'd, and sets up for a Separate Interest, is a kind of Voluntary *Out-Law*, and Disincorporates himself from Mankind.

XXX. This Philosopher has never a Waistcoat to his Coat, t'other ne'er a Book to Read, and a third is half naked, and yet They are none of them discouraged : One Learned Man has nothing for his *Stomach*, nor Another for his *Lectures* ; However they are resolved to starve on, and be *Wise* in *Despight* of Misfortune.

XXXI. Be satisfyed with your *Business*, and learn to Love what you were *Bred* too: And as to the Remainder of your Life, be entirely resign'd, and let the Gods do their Pleasure: And when this is done, be neither *Slave*, nor *Tyrant*, to any Body.

XXXII. To begin some-where, consider how *Business*, Humour, and Fortune, went with the World in *Vespasian's* Time; Consider this I say, and you'll find Mankind just at the same pass They are now. Some Marrying, and some concern'd in Education, some Sick, and some Dying; some Fighting, and some Feasting; some drudging at the Plow, and some upon the *Exchange*; some were too *Affable*, and some over-grown with Conceit; one was full of Jealousy, and t'other of Knavery; Here you might find a parcel wishing for the Death of their Friends; and there a seditious Club complaining of the *Times*; some Loved their *Wenches*, and some their Bags, some grasp'd at the *Consulship*, and some at the *Scepter*. Well! All's over with that Generation long since. Come forward then to the Reign of *Trajan*; now here you'll find Mortals in the same Circle of *Business*, and Folly, they were in before: But they are all gone too. Go on with the Contemplation, and carry it to other *Times* and Countries, And here you'll see abundance of People

ple very Busy, and Big with their Projects, drop off presently, and Moulder to *Dust* and *Ashes*; More particularly recollect those within your own Memory, who have been hurried on in these vain Pursuits; How they have overlook'd the Dignity of their Nature, and those better Satisfactions in their own Power. And here you must remember to proportion your Concern to the Weight, and Importance of Business: Thus you'll be safe against Trifling, and part with Amusements without Regret.

XXXIII. Those *Words* which were formerly current and proper, are now become Obsolete, and Barbarous. Alas! This is not all: Fame Tarnishes in Time too; And Men grow out of Fashion, as well as Language. Those celebrated *Names* of *Gamillus*, *Cæso*, and *Volesus* are Antiquated; Those of *Scipio*, *Cato*, and *Augustus* will have the same Fortune; and those of *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, must follow. All these Things are Transitory and quickly swallowed up in Oblivion. I speak this of those who have been the wonder of their Age and shin'd with Unusual Lustre. But as for the Rest, they are no sooner Dead, than Forgotten. And if you could Perpetuate your *Memory*, what does *Fame Everlasting* signifie? Meer Stuff! What then is it, that's worth ones while to be
con-

concern'd for? Why nothing but this; To bear an Honest Mind, to Act for the Good of *Society*; to Deceive No body; to foresee the Worst, and be contented with what happens, upon the Score both of the *Cause*, and the Necessity.

XXXIV. Put your self frankly into the Hands of Fate, and let her Spin you out what Fortune she pleases.

XXXV. He that does a Memorable Action, and those that Report it, are all but short-liv'd Things.

XXXVI. Accustom your self to consider, that whatever is produc'd, is produc'd by *Alteration*: That *Nature* Loves nothing so much as shifting the *Scene*, and bringing new Persons upon the *Stage*. To speak closely; The Destruction of one Thing, is the Making of another: And that which *Subsists* at present, is as it were the *Seed* of *Succession*, which springs from it. But if you take *Seed* in the Common Notion, and Confine it to the *Field*, or the *Garden*, you have a dull Fancy.

XXXVII. You are just taking leave of the World, and don't you know what you are, and what you are not? Han't you done with unnecessary desires? Are you not yet above Disturbance and Suspicion, and fully convinc'd that nothing *without* your own *Will* can Hurt you? Have you not
P yet

yet learn'd to be Friends with every Body, and that to be an *Honest Man*, is the only way to be a *Wise* one?

XXXVIII. To understand the true Quality of People, you must look into their Minds, and examine their Pursuits, and Aversions.

XXXIX. Your *Pain* can't lie in another Man's *Head*, neither can his Mismanagement, be your Misfortune. Nay farther, the Declension of your Health, or the Accidents in your Carcass need not affect you. Where then are you Passive and Vulnerable? Why in that Part of you that forms Judgments and Opinions of Things. Don't imagine you are hurt, and you are Impregnable: Suppose then your flesh was Hack'd, Sear'd, or Putrified; for your Life, let your fancy lie still: * That is, don't conclude what is common to Good, or Ill Men, can be Good, or Evil in its self. For that which may be every bodys Lot, must in its own Nature be *Indifferent*.

* A Stoical Rhodomontade.

† The Stoicks believed the World Animated, and that God was the Soul of it.

XL. You ought frequently to consider that the World is an *Animal*, † consisting of one *Soul* and *Body*; that an Universal Sense runs through the whole Mass of Matter. You should likewise reflect how *Nature* Acts by a Joynt Effort, and as it were altogether; And how every thing contributes to the Being of every thing: And lastly,

lastly, what Connexion and Subordination there is, between Causes, and Effects.

XLI. Would you know what you are? *Epictetus* will tell you that you are a *Living Soul*, that drags a *Carcass* about with her.

XLII. Things that subsist upon *Change*, and owe their Being to Instability, can neither be considerably Good, nor Bad *.

* See Book
7 Sect. 23.
& alib.

XLIII. The World Hurries off a Pace, and Time is like a Rapid River: A Thing is no sooner well *come*, but 'tis *past*; And then another is posted after it; And it may be at length, the first will return under another Appearance.

XLIV. Whatever happens *Here*, is as Common, and well known as a Rose in the Spring, or an Apple in Autumn: Of this kind are Diseases, and Death, Calumny and Undermining; And several other Things, which Raise, and Depress the Spirits of unthinking People.

XLV. *Antecedents*, and *Consequents* are dexterously tyed together in the World: Things are not carelessly thrown on a Heap and joyn'd more by *Number* than *Nature*; but as it were Artificially inlay'd into each other. And as the present *Set of Appearances* are very curiously contrived, so those upon the *Stocks* are carried on by Rule, and come forward with great Uniformity.

XLVI. The Elements are always shift-

ing their Forms, and Transmuting into each other. Therefore don't forget the Saying of *Heraclitus*; *That the Earth dies into Water, Water into Air, Air into Fire, and so Backward*. Remember likewise the Story of the Man that Travelled on, without knowing to what place the Way would bring him: And that many People contest the Point with that *Reason* that Governs the World, and with which they are daily Conversant: And seem perfectly unacquainted with those things which occur daily. Farther, we must not Nod over Business, nor dream away Life, like People who fancy they are mightily employ'd, when they are fast in their Beds. Neither are we to be wholly govern'd by Tradition; For that's like Children, who believe any thing their Parents tell them.

XLVII. Put the case some God should acquaint you, you were to Die to Morrow, or next Day at farthest. Under this Warning, you would be a very Poor Wretch if you should strongly solicit for the longest time: For alas! how inconsiderable is the difference? In like manner if you would Reason right, and compute upon the Notion of Eternity, you would not be much concern'd whether your Life was up to Morrow, or a Thousand Years hence.

XLVIII.

XLVIII. Consider how many Physicians are Dead that us'd to value themselves upon the Cure of their Patients; How many Astrologers who thought themselves Great Men by foretelling the Death of others; How many Philosophers have gone the way of all Flesh, after all their Learned Disputes about dying, and Immortality; How many Field-Worthies, who had knock'd so many Mens Brains out; How many Tyrants who manag'd the Power of Life and Death with as much Pride and Rigour, and as if themselves had been Immortal; How many Cities, if I may say so, have given up the Ghost: For Instance *Helice* in *Greece*, *Pompeii*, and *Herculanum* in *Italy*; not to mention many besides. Do but recollect your Acquaintance; And here you'll find People Managing and making way for Funerals; Mourning for their Friends, and giving Occasion for the same Office themselves. And all within a small Compass of Time. In short, Mankind are poor Transitory Things! They are one Day in the Rudiments of Life, and almost the next, turn'd to *Mummie*, or *Ashes*. Your way is therefore to manage this *Minute* Wisely, and part with it chearfully; And, like a ripe Nut, when you drop out of the Husk, be sure to speak well of the *Season*, and make your Acknowledgments to the *Tree* that bore you.

XLIX. Stand Firm like a Rock, against which tho' the Waves Batter, and Swell, they fall flat at last. How unfortunate has this Accident made me, crys such a one! Not at all! He should rather say, what a Happy Mortal am I for being unconcern'd upon the Occasion! For being neither shocked at the Present, nor afraid of what's to Come. The Thing might have happen'd to any other Man as well as my self, but for all that, every Body would not have been so easy under it. Why then is not the Good Fortune of the *Bearing*, more considerable than the Ill Fortune of the *Happening*? Or to speak properly, How can that be a Misfortune to a Man, which is no Disappointment to his Nature? And how can that cross upon a Man's Nature which falls in with the very Intention and Design of it? Now what Humane Nature, rightly dispos'd, drives at, I suppose you are not to learn at this time of Day. To apply this Reasoning: Does the present Accident hinder your being Honest and Brave, Temperate and Modest, Judicious, and Unservile? &c. Now when a Man is furnished with these Good Qualities, the highest Notion of him is finish'd, and his Nature has what she would have. Farther; When any thing grows troublesome recollect this Maxim; That generous Behaviour is too strong for

III

Ill Fortune, and turns it to an Advantage.

L. To consider those old People that resign'd so unwillingly, is for a common Notion, not unserviceable ; it helps us somewhat to Face Death, and contemn it : For what are these long-liv'd Mortals more than those that went off in their Infancy ? what s become of *Cæcilianus*, *Fabius*, *Julianus*, and *Lepidus* ? Their Heads are all laid somewhere ; They buried a great many, but came at last to't themselves. Upon the whole ; The difference between long, and short Life is insignificant ; especially if you consider the Accidents, the Company, and the Carcass you must go through with : Therefore don't let a Thought of this kind affect you one way or t'other : Do but look upon the astonishing Notion of Time and Eternity : what an immense deal has run out already, and how Infinite 'tis still in the Future : Do but consider this, and you'll find three Days and three Ages of Life, come much to the same Measure and Reckoning.

LI. Always go the shortest way to work ; Now the nearest Road to your Business lies through Honesty. Let it be your constant method then to deal clearly and above Board. And by this means you need not Fatigue it, you need not Quarrel, Floutish, and Dissemble like other People.

BOOK V.

I. **W**Hen you find an unwillingness to rise early in the Morning, make this short Speech to your self: I am getting up now to do the Business of a Man; and am I out of Humour for going about that I was made for; and for the sake of which I was sent into the World? Was I then design'd for nothing but to Doze and Batten beneath the Counterpane? Well! but this is a comfortable way of living. Granting that: wer't thou Born only for Pleasure; were you never to do any thing? I thought Action had been the End of your Being: Pray look upon the Plants and Birds, the Pismires, Spiders, and Bees, and you'll see them all Regular and Industrious, exerting their Nature, and busy in their Station. For shame! Shall a Spider act like a Spider, and make the most of her Matters, and shan't a Man act like a Man? Why don't you rouse your Faculties, and manage up to your Kind? For all that, there's no Living without Rest: True; But then let's follow Nature's directions, and not take too much on't: She likewise has given you leave to Eat and Drink within a Rule; but here you generally exceed your Commission, and go beyond Convenience;
Whereas

Whereas in business you are apt to Favour your self, and do less than lies in your power. In earnest, you have no true Love for your self: If you had, you would improve your Nature, Humour her Motions, and solicit her Interest. Now when a Man loves his Trade, how he'l Sweat and Drudge to perform to a Curiosity, and make himself Master on't! But to speak out, You mind your Person less than a *Turner* does the making of a Chair; A Dancing Master has much more regard for his Heels, than you have for your Head: And as for Wealth and Popularity, how strongly are they pursued by the Vain, and the Covetous? All these People when their Fancy is once struck, push their Point might and main, and will scarcely allow themselves necessary Refreshment. And now can you think the Functions of Reason, Justice, and Generosity, less valuable than these petty Amusements?

II. What an easy matter 'tis to stem the Current of your imagination; to discharge a troublesome, or improper Thought, and grow as calm and regular as one would wish?

III. Don't think any Action beneath you, which Reason and Circumstances require; and never be misled by the apprehension of Censure, or Reproach. Where Honesty prompts you to say, or do any thing, ne'er Baulk your self, or start at the matter. If
other

other People are particular in their Fancies and Opinions, mind them not : Be you govern'd by the Reason within you ; pursue that which is most for your own, and the Common Interest. For to speak strictly, these Two are but one and the same.

IV. I'll jog on in that Path which Nature has Chalk'd out, till my Legs sink under me ; and then I shall be at Rest, and expire into that Air which has given me Breath ; fall upon that Earth which has maintain'd my Parents, help'd my Nurse to her Milk, and supply'd me with Meat and Drink for so many years ; and tho' its Favours have been often abus'd, still suffers me to Tread upon't.

V. Wit and Smartness are not mightily your Talent : What then ? There are a great many other good Qualities in which you can't pretend Nature has fail'd you : Improve them as far as you can, and let's have that which is perfectly in your Power. You may if you please, behave your self like a Man of Gravity, and good Faith, endure Hardship, and despise Pleasure ; want but a few things, and complain of nothing ; you may be dispassionate, stand upon your own Legs, and be Great if you please, and have nothing of Ill Nature, Luxury, or Trifling in your Humour : Don't you see how much you may do if you have a mind to't ;

to't ; and how the Plea of Incapacity is out of doors? And yet you don't Push, and manage as you should do : What then ! Does any Natural Defect force you upon Grumbling, Miserableness, or laying your Faults upon your Constitution, upon Flattery, or Ostentation ; upon uncertainty of Temper, and rolling from one Folly to another? Can you say you are so weakly made, as to be driven upon these Practices ? The immortal Gods know to the contrary ! No, you might have stood clear of all This long since : And after all, if your Parts were somewhat low, and your Understanding heavy, your way had been to have taken the more pains with your self, and not to have lain Fallow, and doted upon your own dullness.

VI. Some Men when they do you a Kindness, are presently for Ringing the Obligation in your Ears ; others are more modest than this comes to : However, they remember the Favour, and look upon you as their Debtor. A third sort shall be every jot as much Benefactors, and yet scarce know any thing of the matter : These are much like a Vine, which is satisfied by being fruitful in its Kind, and bears a Bunch of Grapes without expecting any Thanks for it. A Fleet Horse or Greyhound, don't use to make a Noise when they have perform'd hand.

handsomly, nor a Bee neither when she has made a little Hony: and thus a Man that's rightly Kind, never proclaims a Good Turn, but does another as soon as he can; just like a Vine that bears again the next Season. Now we should imitate Those who are so obliging, as hardly to remember their Beneficence: But you'll say, a Man ought to understand the Quality of his own Actions. 'Tis somewhat natural for One that's Generous, to be Conscious of his Generosity; yes truly, and to desire the Person oblig'd, should be sensible of it too; I grant what you say, is in a great measure True: And if you don't take me right, you'll make one of those untoward Benefactors I first mention'd: Indeed, They think their grounds plausible enough; for their Vanity imposes upon them. But if you'll view the case in its true Colours, the privacy of doing a good-turn will never discourage you.

VII. The *Athenians* us'd to be mighty Clamorous to *Jupiter* for Rain upon their own Lands, but not a word for other People. Now to my mind, They had e'en better have held their Tongues, or else pray'd with more of Extent, and Generosity.

VIII. *Æsculapius*, as we commonly speak, has prescrib'd such a one * Riding out, Walking in his Slippers, or a Cold Bath; Now much to the same meaning we may affirm,

* Probably in a dream.

affirm, that *Providence*, or the *Soul* of the Universe, has ordered this or that Person a Disease, loss of Limbs or Estate, or some such other Calamity. For as in the first case, the word *Prescribed*, signifies a Direction for the Health of the *Patient* : so in the latter it means an Application, proper for the *Constitution* and Benefit of *Fate*. And thus these harsher Events may be counted fit for us ; as *Freestone* which is well joyn'd, and lies Snug in a Building, may be said to fit it. Indeed, the *whole* of *Nature*, consists of an Harmony and Congruity of Parts ; For as the World has its Form and Entireness from that universal Matter of which it consists ; So the Character, and Distinction of Fate, results from the Quality and Concurrence of all other Causes contained in it. The Common People understand this Notion very well ; Their way of speaking is, *This was sent him by Destiny* : Say you so ; was there not then somewhat of Purpose and Design in it ? Let us then comply with our Doom, as we do with the Prescriptions of a Celebrated Physician : These Doses are often unpalatable and rugged ; and yet the desire of Health makes them go merrily down. Now that which Nature esteems Profit and Convenience, should be no less valued than your own Health : And therefore when any cross Accident

* A Stoical
Paradox.

† A gross
Error of
the Stoicks.

cident happens, take it quietly to you, 'tis for the good of the Universe, and *Jupiter* himself is the better for't*. Depend upon't, This had never been sent you, if the World had not found it's Account in't : Neither does Nature act at Random, or order any thing which is not suitable to those Beings under her Government. You have two reasons therefore to be contented with your Condition : First, because you were Born, and singled out for't : 'Twas assign'd you from the beginning by the highest and most ancient Causes. Secondly, 'Tis for the Interest of him that governs the World †; It perfects his Nature in some Measure, and continues his Happiness : For it holds in *Causes*, no less than in *Matter* and *Quantity*; If you lop off any part of the Continuity and Connexion, you Maim the Whole. Now if you are displeas'd with your Circumstances, you dismember *Nature*, and pull the World in pieces, as much as lies in your power.

IX. Be not uneasy, discourag'd, or out of Humour, because *Practice* falls short of *Precept* in some particulars. If you happen to be beaten off your Reason, come on again ; and let your Fancy strike in at your second Trial ; and don't go like a School Boy to his Master, with an Ill-will. No, you must apply to *Philosophy* with Inclination,

tion, as those who have Sore Eyes make use of a good Receipt. And when you are thus dispos'd, you'll easily acquiesce, and be govern'd by Reason : And here you are to remember, that Philosophy or true Wisdom will put you upon nothing but what your Nature wishes and calls for: And can you be so unreasonable as to cross the inclinations of your Nature? Is not her Fancy the most agreeable of any Thing? And does not *Pleasure* often deceive us under this pretence? Now think a little, and tell me what there is more delightful than downright Honesty and Religion, than Generosity and Greatness of Mind? And once more, what can be more entertaining than Prudence? than to be furnish'd with that Understanding which keeps a Man from making a false Step, and helps him to Good Fortune in all his Business*?

X. Things are so much perplex'd, and in the dark, that several considerable Philosophers look'd upon them as altogether unintelligible†, and that there was no certain Test for the discovery of Truth; Even the Stoicks agree, that *Nature* and *Certainty* is very hard to come at; that our Understandings are always liable to Error, and that Infallibility is meer Vanity and Pretence. However, Our Ignorance is not so great, but that we may discover how transitory,

* The Stoicks Maxim is, *A Wise Man can never be unfortunate, let his Circumstances be what they will.*

† Of this Opinion were Pyrrho and the New Academicks.

fitory, and insignificant all things are ; That those we commonly call the best Circumstances, are sometimes in the worst Hands ; and that 'tis possible for *Thieves*, *Whores*, and *Catamites* to run away with the World ; and who then would care Three pence for't ? Farther, Consider the Temper of those you converse with, and you'll find the Best will hardly do ; not to mention, that a Man has work enough to make himself tolerable to himself. And since we have nothing but Darkness, and Dirt to grasp at, since Time and Matter, Motion and Mortals, are always Rolling, and running out of themselves ; for these reasons I say, I can't imagine what there is here worth the minding. On the other hand, a Man ought to keep up his Spirits, for 'twill not be long before his *Discharge* comes : In the mean time, his point is to be easy, and satisfy himself with these two Considerations ; the one is, that nothing will befall me, but what is for the Interest of the

* See Sect. 8. *Universe* : * The other, that no body can command my Practice, or force me to act against my own Judgment.

XI. What use do I put my Soul to, or what Hand do I make of my Reason ? 'Tis a serviceable question this, and should frequently be put to ones self ? I say, how does my sovereign Part stand affected ?
And

And what's the Furniture and Complexion of my Mind? Is there nothing of the *Boy* or the *Beast* in't? Nothing that's either Ty-rannical, or Effeminate?

XII. What sort of good Things those are, which are commonly so reckon'd, you may learn from hence: For the purpose, if you reflect upon those Qualities which are intrinsically valuable, such as Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude, you won't find a Jest upon them apt to Relish, and make Sport: Whereas upon the advantages of Fortune and Common Estimation, a piece of Raillery will pass well enough. Thus we see the generality are struck with the distinction, otherwise they would not dislike the Liberty in one Case, and allow it in the other. The Felicities of Riches, Luxury, and Ambition, are all within the privilege of Buffoons, and liable to the Lash of the Stage: Now what significancy can there be in these things, when a *Poet's* Jest will take Place upon them? And that comical Droll may be patly applied to the Owner; *He is so stuff'd, says the Play, with Wealth and Finery, that he has no room for his Close Stool.*

XIII. My Being consists of *Matter* and *Form*, that is, of Soul and Body; *Annihilation* will reach neither of them; For as they were never produced out of *Nothing*,

so they will always remain *Something*: The consequence is, that every part of me will serve to make something in the *World*; and thus I shall be to's'd from one Figure to another, through an infinite succession of Change. And what wonder of all this? This constant method of alteration gave me my Being, and my Father before me, and soon to Eternity backward: For I think I may speak thus, though the *World* is confin'd within a certain determinate period.*

* See Book
10. Sect. 7.
Book 11.
Sect. 1.

XIV. Reason needs no foreign Assistance, but is sufficient for its own purposes. This Faculty moves within it self, and makes directly for the Point in view. For to take the matter rightly, Honesty is always the nearest way to success.

XV. Those things don't belong to a Man, which don't belong to him as a Man, or under the definition of his *Species*. This Notion may be applyed to all *External Advantages*. For These are not included in the Idea; They are not required of us as Men; Humane Nature does not promise them, neither is she perfected by them: From whence it follows that They can neither constitute the *Chief End* of Man, nor strictly contribute towards it. Farther, if these Things were any real Additions, how comes the Contempt of them, and the being easy without them, to be so great

great a Commendation? To balk an Advantage would be Folly, for one can't have too much of that which is Good. But the Case stands otherwise; For we know that Self-Denial, and Indifference about these Things is the Character of a Good Man, and goes for a Mark of true Greatness.

XVI. Your Manners will depend very much upon the Quality of what you frequently think on; For the Soul is as it were Tinged with the Colour, and Complexion of *Thought*. Be sure therefore to work in such Maxims as these. A Man may live as he should do, and Behave Himself well in all Places, By consequence, a Life of Virtue, and that of a *Courtier* are not inconsistent. Again: That which a Thing is made for, 'tis made to Act for; and that which 'tis made to Act for, 'tis naturally carried To: And in the due pursuit of this Tendency the End of the Agent consists. Now where the *End* of a Thing is, there the Advantage and Improvement of it is certainly lodg'd. From hence the Inference will be, that the Happiness of Mankind lies in *Society*, and Correspondence: since that we were made for this purpose, I have prov'd already. * For is it not plain that the lower Order of Beings are made for their *Betters*, and the higher for the Service of each other? Now as *Life* is prefer-

* See Book
2. Sect. 1.

able to bare *Existence*, so amongst all Living Creatures, the *Rational* are the best Quality.

XVII. To expect an Impossibility is Distraction; Now 'tis impossible for Ill Men not to follow their Basse, and show their Temper in some Instance or other.

XVIII. There's nothing happens to any Person but what is in his Power to go through with : some People have had very severe Tryals, and yet either by having less Understanding, or more Pride than ordinary, have charged bravely through the Misfortune, and come off without a *Scratch*; Now 'tis a scandalous Indecency, to let Ignorance, and Vanity do more with us, than Prudence and Principle.

XIX. 'Tis *Thoughts*, not *Things* which take hold of the Soul. Outward Objects can't force their Passage into the Mind, nor set any of its Wheels a going. No, The Impression comes from her self, and 'tis her *Notions* which affect Her. As for the contingencies of Fortune, they are either Great or Little, according to the Opinion she has of her own Strength.

XX. When we consider we are bound to be serviceable to Mankind, and bear with their Faults, we shall perceive there's a common Tye of Nature, and Relation between us. But when we see People grow troublesome

some and disturb us in our Business, Here we are to look upon Men as *Indifferent* sort of Things, neither Good, nor Bad to us, but according to our Management. 'Tis true like a Cross Wind They may hinder Me in the *Executing* Part, but all this while my Inclinations stand Firm, and the reserve of a Good Meaning is secured to me. Being rightly Dispos'd, I can pass on to the Exercise of another Virtue; And thus 'tis probable I may gain by the Opposition, and turn the Disappointment to an Advantage.

XXI. Among all Things in the *Universe*, direct your Worship to the Greatest: And which is that? 'Tis that Being which Manages, and Governs all the Rest. And as you worship the best Thing in Nature, so you are to pay a proportionable Regard to the best Thing in your *Self*: You'll know it by its Relation to the Deity. The Quality of its Functions will discover it. 'Tis the Reigning Power *within you*, which disposes of your Actions, and your Fortune.

XXII. That which does not Damnify the City, * or Body Politick, can't properly speaking damnify any Person that belongs to it. Therefore when you think you are ill used, let this Reflection be your Remedy, and say thus to your self; If the Community is not the worse for't, neither am I. But if the Community is injured,

* By the City the Emperor means the World, to which, as he observes, private disadvantages are a Convenience.

your Business is to shew the Person concern'd his Fault, but not to grow Passionate about it.

XXIII. Reflect frequently upon the Instability of Things, and how very fast the Scenes of *Nature* are shifted. *Matter* is in a perpetual Flux; *Change* is always, and every where at work, it strikes through *Causes*, and *Effects*, and leaves nothing fixt, and Permanent. And then how very near the two vast Gulphs of Time, the *Past*, and the *Future*, stand together! Now upon the Whole, is not that Man a Blockhead that thinks these Momentary Things, big enough either to make him Proud, or Uneasy?

XXIV. Remember what an *Atome* your Person stands for in respect of the *Universe*, what a Minute of unmeasurable Time comes to your share, and what a small Concern you are in the Empire of *Fate*!

XXV. A Man misbehaves himself towards Me; what's that to me? The Action is his, and the Will that set him upon't is His, and therefore let him look to't. As for me, I am in the Condition Providence would have me, and am doing what becomes me.

XXVI. Whether the Motions of your Body are Rugged, or Agreeable, don't let your Reason be concerned with them; confine

fine the Impressions to their Respective Quarters, and let your Mind keep her distance, and not run in. 'Tis true, That which results from the Laws of the *Union* from the force of Sympathy, or Constitution, must be *Felt*, for Nature will have its Course ; But tho' the *Sensation* can't be stop'd, it must not be over-rated, nor strain'd to the Quality, of *Good*, or *Evil*.

XXVII. We ought to converse with the Gods, and live the Life that they do: This is done by being contented with the Appointments of Providence, and by obeying the Orders of that *Genius*, which is both the Deputy, and the Offspring of *Jupiter* : Now this Divine Authority is neither more, nor less, than that Soul and Reason, which every Man carries about him.

XXVIII. Are you angry at a Rank Smell, or an ill scented Breath? Why if a Man's Lungs, or Stomach, are ulcerated, or his Arm-pits out of Order, how can he help it. But you'll say, the case is not parallel, between an ill Action, and an ill Breath; the one is Choice, and the other Necessity. Well, If you think Mankind so full of Reason, pray make use of your own : Argue the Case with the Faulty Person, and shew him his Error: If your Advice prevails, he is what you would have him ; and then there is no need of being angry: And last-

ly, Don't mismanage either by your Haughtiness or Servility.

* A Soical
piece or Di-
straction.

XXIX. You may live *now* if you please, as you would chuse to do if you were near dying: But suppose People won't let you; why then give Life the Slip*, but by no means make a Misfortune on't. If the Room smoaks I leave it, and there's an end; for why should one be concern'd at the matter? However, if nothing of this kind drives me out, I'll stay, behave my self like a Man of Spirit, and do what I have a mind to; but then I'll have a mind to nothing but what I am led to by Reason and publick Interest.

XXX. God, or the Soul of the *Universe* is of a sociable Disposition: For this reason he has made the coarser Part of the Creation, for the sake of the Finer. And as for those Beings of the higher Rank, he has engaged them to each other by Inclination. You see how admirably Things are ranged, and sorted, according to the Dignity of their Kind; and cemented together by Nature, and Benevolence!

XXXI. Recollect how you have behav'd your self all along, towards the Gods, your Parents, Brothers, Wife and Children; towards your Instructors, Governors, Friends, Acquaintance and Servants: Whether you have not done, or said something unbecoming to some of them. Recollect how
much

much business you have been engag'd in, and how well you have gone through it : That now your Task is done, and the History of your Life finish'd. Remember likewise, how much Bravery you can make out, how much of Pleasure, and Pain, and Grandeur, you have despis'd ; and how often you have done Good against Evil.

XXXII. Why should Skill and Knowledge be disturb'd at the Censures of Ignorance ? But you'll say, who are these Knowing, and Skilful People ? Why those who are acquainted with the Original Cause, and end of all Things, with that *Reason* that Pervades the Mass of *Matter*, Renews the World at certain Periods, and Governs it through all the Lengths of Time.

XXXIII. You'll quickly be reduced to *Ashes* and *Skeleton* ; And it may be you may have a Name left you, and it may be not : And what's a Name ? Nothing but Sound, and Syllable. And then for those Things which are so much valued in the World, they are miserably empty, and insignificant. The Prize is so mean, that it makes the scuffle about them Ridiculous. It puts one in mind of a parcel of Puppies snarling for a Bone ; And the contests of little Children sometimes transported, and sometimes all in Tears about a *Play-Thing*. And as for Modesty and Good Faith, Truth and Justice ;

Justice; they have left this wicked World, and retired to Heaven: And now what is it that can keep you here. For if the *Objects* of *Sense* are floating, and changeable, and the *Organs* misty, and apt to be impos'd on: If the Soul is but a *Vapour* drawn off the Blood, and the Applause of little Mortals insignificant: If the case stands thus, what is it you *stay* for? Why I am resolved to have Patience, till I am either Extinguish'd, or *Remov'd*. * And till that time comes, what is to be done? The answer is easie: To worship the Gods, and speak honourably of them; to be beneficial to Mankind; to bear with their Faults, and let their property alone. And lastly, to remember, that whatever lies without the compass of your Person, is nothing of yours, nor in your power.

* Into a
State of se-
paration.

XXXIV. You may be always successful if you do but set out well, and let your Thoughts and Practice proceed upon *Grounds* and Method. There are two properties and privileges common to God, and all Rational Beings; The one is, not to be hindred by any thing Foreign; The other, to make Virtue their supreme satisfaction, and not so much as to desire any thing farther.

XXXV. If this Accident is no fault of mine, nor a consequence of it; And be-
fides

sides if the *Community* is ne'er the worse for't, why am I concern'd? Now which way the *Community* * may be damnified, I shall discourse afterwards †.

* By the Community is meant the World.

† See Book 8. Sect. 55.

XXXVI. Don't suffer a suddain Impression to overbear your Judgment. Let those that want your Assistance have it, as far as the Case requires. But if Fortune as they call it, lies hard upon them, don't you conclude upon any real Damage, for there's no such thing. However upon the score of Tenderneſs, and Humanity, you may condescend to their Weakneſs, and Treat them a little in their own way. But then you must remember to keep your Notion true, and not suffer your Compassion, to run away with your Reason: Thus when you are Haranguing in the *Rostra* * and courting the Populace; When you are thus busy, I say a little of this to your self would not be amiss. *Heark you Friend, have you forgot that this Glitter of Honour, is but Tinsel and Pageantry: I grant it, but for all that 'tis extremely valued. 'Tis mighty well! And because other People are Fools, must you be so too? You may be a happy Fellow in any Ground, provided you have the wit to chuse your Fortune handsomly: Now if you ask farther, I must tell you if your Manners be good, your Fortune can never be bad. For in a word, Happiness lies all in the Functions of Reason,*

* A Pulpit in one of the Squares at Rome, where the great Men use to make Speeches to carry Elections.

son, in warrantable Desires, and regular Practice.

B O O K VI.

AS *Matter* is all of it plyable, and obsequious, so that *Sovereign Reason* which gives Laws to it, has neither Motive nor Inclination, to bring an Evil upon any thing. This great Being is no way Unfriendly or Hostile in his Nature, He Forms and Governs all things, but hurts nothing.

II. Do but your Duty, and don't trouble your self about your Condition: If you be- have your self well; ne'er mind whether 'tis in the Cold, or by a good Fire, whether you are overwatched, or satisfied with Sleep, whether you have a Good word, or a Bad one; whether you are in Health, or Dying; For this last must be done at one time or other. 'Tis part of the Business of Life to lose it handsomly. Upon the whole; If we do but manage the *Present* to Advantage, that's enough.

III. Look thoroughly into Matters, and let not the Distinction, or intrinsic Value of any thing escape you.

IV. The present appearance of Things, will quickly undergo a Change; and be either exhaled into *Common Matter*, or dispersed

spersed into their respective *Elements* *.

V. That Intelligent Being that Governs the *Universe*, has perfect Views of every Thing; His Knowledge penetrates the quality of *Matter*, and sees through all the consequences of his own Operations.

VI. The best way of Revenge, is not to imitate the Injury.

VII. Be always doing something serviceable to Mankind, and let this constant Generosity be your only Pleasure; not forgetting in the mean time, a due Reference and Regard to the Deity.

VIII. 'Tis the governing part of the Mind, which awakens Thought, and alters the Quality of it; which gives what Air she pleases to her own *Likeness*, and to all the Accidents and Circumstances without her.

IX. The particular Effects in the World, are all wrought by one Intelligent Nature. This Universal Cause, has no Foreign Assistant, no interloping Principle, either *without* his *Jurisdiction*, or *within* it.

X. For Argument sake let's use a Disjunction; The World then is either nothing but a Rencontre of *Atomes*, a heap of Confusion, and a hurry of Chance, or else 'tis the effect of Design, and under the Laws of Order, and *Providence*: If the first, what should I stay for, where Nature is in such a Hotchpotch, and Things are so blindly jum-

* Some Philosophers held all *Matter* was the same; And others maintain'd that the Four *Elements* were distinct, and Original Principles of *Bodies*.

* An Expression of Homer.

jumbled together? Why don't I rather make it my Choice to disengage, and return to the Element of Earth * as soon as may be? Why should I give my self any trouble? Let me do what I will, my *Constitution* must be *Broken*, and my *Atomes* all *Disbanded* in a little time. But if there is a *Providence*, and the latter part of the *Disjunction* holds good, then I Adore the Great Governour of the World, and am easie in the prospect of Protection.

XI. When you happen to be ruffled a little, and throw off your Temper by any cross Accident, retire immediately into your Reason; And don't move out of Rule any longer than needs must: For the sooner you recover a False Step, the more you will be Master of your Practice.

XII. Put the case, you had a Mother in Law, and a Mother at the same time, tho' you would pay a regard to the First, your Converse I conceive would be mostly with the Latter. Let the *Court* and *Philosophy*, represent these two Relations to you; apply frequently to this last, and set up your stand with her. For 'tis a Life of Virtue, and Philosophy, which makes you, and your *Courtiers*, tolerable to each other.

XIII. To check the pleasure of Luxury, we should in our Fancy at least, take away the Garnishing of the Dishes, the value the Cook

Cook sets upon them, and give them Names less tempting then ordinary. For the purpose, we may say, this is but the Carcass of a Fish, this Fowl has no more Life in't then I shall have when I am Buried; and t'other is no better then a Piece of a Dead-Hog. And then for this Bottle of *Falerno*, * what is it but a little Moisture squeez'd out of the Tumour of a Grape? And to mortifie the Vanity of Fine Cloaths, and prevent your Purple, † from growing too big for you, consider that 'tis nothing but Sheeps Hair twisted together, and stain'd in the Gore of a little Shell-Fish. And if we were to proceed to some other satisfaction of Sense, we should find them but coarse in their Causes, and Constitution; And as these Notions strike through the Surface, press into the heart of Things, and shew them in their Natural Colours; so we should carry them on, and apply them to all the Pageantry of Life. And where things appear most Plausible, and Pretending, be sure to bring them to the Test, and look within them. And when the Paint is thus pull'd of, the Coarsness of them will easily be discovered. Without this Care, Figure and Appearance are great Cheats; And when you think your Fancy is best employ'd, you'll be most Fooled: Even Virtue it self is sometimes Counterfeited, and Gravity

* *Falernus* a Country in *Campania*, which affords the richest Wines in *Italy*.

† Purple was so much the privilege of the Emperour, that 'twas Treason for the Subject to wear it.

vity is nothing else but Grimace. Thus *Crates* discovered *Xenocrates's* Philosophy to be only skin deep; great Demureness *without*, and no less Vanity *within*.

XIV. The *Inclination* of the generality, may be reduced to these Heads, some People are little enough to be smitten with things in the state of bare Existence, or Vegetation; As with *Wood, Stones, Fruit*, and such like. Others who are somewhat more tolerable in their Fancy, must have Life to Charm them; And these, it may be are mightily in love with their Flocks and Herds. A Third sort, better furnish'd than the former, admire nothing beneath Humane Nature; But then they don't take in the whole Kind, but 'tis either the Skill, Parts, or Property * of some particulars which Affect them. But he that values a Rational Creature without Limitation, or Partiality, runs into none of the Dotages above mentioned: But makes it his chief business to look at Home, to keep Reason and Good Nature stirring, and to assist all Mankind in the publick Interest.

* As in
Slaves who
belong to
their Ma-
sters.

XV. Some Things are pressing for Birth, and *Being*, and others are passing off, and that which was entire just now, is part of it spent already. The *World* is renew'd by this Change and Rolling, no less than *Time* is by a perpetual Succession. Now who
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wou'd Dote upon Things hurried down the Stream thus fast, and which 'tis impossible to take hold on? Such a Passion is much like falling in Love with a Sparrow flying over your Head, you have as it were but one glimpse of her, and she is out of sight. To go on; Life is but a sort of *Exhalation* of the Blood, and a little Air suck'd into the Lungs. Now to return your Breath for the support of Life, and expire your last, when you lose it, is much what the same Action.

XVI. Neither the perspiration of Plants, nor the Breath of Animals, nor the Impressions of *Sensation*, nor the Poppet-motions * of Passions, are privileges of any great value. To which we may add the Instinct of crowding into *Herd*s, together with the Functions of *Nutrition*; This latter being not unlike a separating kind of Evacuation. What then is it that you count worth your Esteem? Huzza's and Acclamations? Not at all. Why then you must not value Harangues and Panegyrick; for this is but a Mannerly sort of bawling about a Man. Well: I find Fame and Glory won't tempt you, what then is there behind worth the having; To govern your Motions, and make use of your *Being* according to the Intentions of Nature; This is the design of Arts and Improvement, in other cases; every Artificer, and Profession, endeavouring

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deavouring

* Because
they do as
it were
dance Men
upon Wires.

deavouring to make the Thing fit, to answer the end for which it was intended. This for instance, is the Design of Vine-dressers, those that manage Horses, and make Dogs; Their business is to make the most of things, and drive them up to the top of their Kind. And what other view has Learning and Education, but to improve the Faculties, and set them the right way at work? 'Tis agreed then the main point lies here: compass but this, and let the World Rub. What? Must your Inclinations always run Riot, and will you never keep them true to one thing? Must you be still hankering after this Fancy and t'other? Why then let me tell you, you'll always be a Slave, always in Wants, and Disquiet. This Temper will let loose abundance of uneasy Passions upon you: 'Twill make you grow envious, full of Jealousie, and Suspicion, and apt to overreach Those who are possessed of something you have a mind to. And when strong desires are unsatisfied, you'll find your self mightily disturb'd. And this will make you murmur, and grow mutinous against the Gods. But if you come once to pay a due Regard to your *Reason*; you'll be pleas'd with your self, serviceable to *Society*, and Compliant with the Gods; That is you'll be entirely satisfied with their Administration.

XVII. The Elements either press upwards, or tumble downwards, or else run round in a Circle: But Virtue has none of these Motions; she is of a nobler Kind: Her Progress in Regular Thoughts, is somewhat unintelligible, but always prosperous.

XVIII. What a strange Humour there is amongst some People? They don't care to afford a Good Word to their Contemporaries, and yet are very desirous of being prais'd by Posterity: That is by those they never saw, nor ever will have the least acquaintance with: Now this is almost such a Freak, as it would be to be disturbed because you were not Commended by the Generations that lived before you.

XIX. Because you find a Thing very difficult, don't presently conclude that no Man can master it. But whatever you observe proper, and practicable by Another, believe likewise within your own Power.

XX. If an *Antagonist* in the *Circus* tears our Flesh with his Nails, or Tilts against us with his Head; we don't use to cry out Foul-play, nor be offended at the Rough Usage, nor suspect him afterwards as a dangerous Person in Conversation. 'Tis true, when we are at the *Exercise*, we Guard, and Parry; But all this is done without raising ill Blood, or looking upon the Man as an Enemy. Let us act at this rate in the other

Instances of Life : When we receive a Blow, let us not think our selves in a *Battle*, but at a Tryal of Skill. We may Fence as I said before, and manage the Contest with Caution, but not with Malice, and Ill Will.

XXI. If any one can convince me of an Error, I shall be very glad to change my Opinion, for Truth is my Business; and right Information hurts no body. No: He that continues in Ignorance and Mistake, 'tis He that receives the Mischief.

XXII. I'll do my Duty, that's enough. As for other Things I shall ne'er be disturb'd about them. For if they happen to come cross, 'Tis but considering that They are either without *Life*, or without *Reason*, or without *Judgment*, and thus I can easily pass them over.

XXIII. As for Brute-Animals, and Things undignified with *Reason*, use them Freely, and Boldly, as being of a superior Order your self. But Treat Men like *Beings* of your own kind, and Members of the same *Society*. And in all your Affairs invoke the Gods for their Assistance. As for the time you are to continue this Regularity; ne'er trouble your self whether 'tis long or short. For three Hours of Life thus well spent, will do your Business.

XXIV. *Alexander* the Great and his Groom, when dead, were both upon the same

same *Level*: And run the same Fortune of being either scattered into *Atoms*, or absorb'd in the *Soul* of the *Universe*. *

* See Book

4. §. 14.

XXV. What abundance of Motions there are in the Body, what abundance of Thoughts and *Sensations* in the Mind at the same time? What a vast number of Operations are performed, and how much Business is Dispatch'd within us in a single Moment? He that considers this, won't wonder so much that infinitely more productions should start out together in the Universe: Or that the *Soul of the World* should by once exerting Himself look over, actuate, and govern the whole *Mass* of *Matter*.

XXVI. Suppose you were ask'd to spell *Antoninus's* Name, would you Hollow every Letter in the Company's Ears? Or would you return their Passion, if they were Angry? I conceive you would rather go mildly to work, and give them the Letters and Syllables as they stand, without Noise. Apply this to greater Instances, and remember that all Duties in Morality, have such a determinate Number of Parts and Circumstances to render them complete; These must be all taken care of, and perform'd in order; But then it must be done smoothly, without growing Hot upon meeting with Peevishness and Provocation.

XXVII. 'Tis a sort of Cruelty to balk People's Fancies, and not give them leave to pursue what they reckon their Interest. And with this you are chargeable in some Measure your self, when you are angry with those that do amiss. Why so? Because they imagine they are carrying on their own Interest and Convenience. But that you'll say is their Mistake. I grant it; But then 'tis your part to lead them out on't, and to shew them their Error, without Passion and Resentment.

XXVIII. What is Death? 'Tis a resting from *Sensation*, and Desire. A stop upon the Rambling of *Thought*, and a Release from the drudgery about your Carcass.

XXIX. Keep up your Spirits for Business as long as your Constitution lasts; for it would be a shame if your Mind should Falter, and Give In, before your Body.

XXX. Have a care you han't too much of an Emperour in you, and that you don't fall into the Liberties and Pride of your Predecessors? These Humours are easily learn'd, therefore guard against the Infection. Be Candid, Sincere, and Modestly Grave. Let Justice and Piety have their Share in your Character; Let your Temper be remarkable for Mildness, and good nature, and be always enterprizing and vigorous in your Business. And in short strive to
be

be just such a Man as Virtue and Philosophy would make you? Worship the Gods, and Protect Mankind. This Life is short, and all the Advantage you can get by it, is the Opportunities you have of Adoring Those Above, * and doing Good to Those Below you. Do every thing like a Disciple of *Antoninus*, † Imitate him in the Vigour and Constancy of his Good Conduct, in the Equality, Sweetness and Piety of his Temper, the Serenity of his Aspect, the Modesty and Unpretendingness of his Behaviour, and the generous Ambition he had to be perfectly Master of his Business. Farther: 'Twas his Way, to dismiss nothing till he had look'd thro' it, and view'd it on all sides: to bear unreasonable Remonstrances without making a return; never to be in a Hurry: To be backward in giving encouragement to Enformers: He was a great Judge of Men and Manners: But of no Satyrical and Reprimanding Humour: Not at all apt to be Frighted, or Surpriz'd: Not too suspicious, nor in the least over-run with Impertinence, and Conceit: Expence and Figure was none of his Fancy; As one might easily perceive, by his Palace, his Furniture, his Habit, his Eating, and his Attendance. Lenity was his Humour, and Fatiguing his Delight. He was so Temperate in his Diet, that he was able to sit at

* The Gods.

† The Author means the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, who was his Adoptive Father.

the Council Board till Night, without withdrawing into another Room; For the Necessities of Nature never return'd upon him till their usual time. He was firm in his Friendship, and steady and agreeable in the Manner of showing it. He gave his Courtiers all the Freedom Imaginable to contradict him; And was pleas'd with the Proposal of a better Expedient than his own. To conclude, he was a Religious Prince, but on this side Superstition. Pray imitate these good Qualities of his, that you may have the Satisfaction of them at your last Hour.

XXXI. Rouse and recollect your self: and you'll perceive your Trouble lay only in a Scene of Imagination: * And when you are well awaken, Turn the Tables, and carry the Contemplation thro' Life; And then the World in a Dream, and the World out on't, will appear much what the same thing.

* The Emperour seems to have made this Reflection after a troublesome Dream.

XXXII. My Person consists of Soul and Body: To this latter all things are Morally indifferent; the *Body* being in no condition to make a distinction of this kind. And as to my *Mind*, there's nothing can affect her in the quality of Good or Evil, her own Actions excepted; Now these are all within her Power: And of all her Actions she is only concern'd with the *present*; for what's *past* or to *come*, signifies as much as nothing, and falls under no Moral Character. *

A kind of Paradox.

XXXIII.

XXXIII. As long as the Hands and Feet do the work they were made for, they move naturally, and with ease: Thus while a Man performs the Functions of his *Species*, and keeps true to his Condition, he feels no more weight than what Nature lays upon him. Now that which is not beside the Intentions of Nature, can never be a real misfortune.

XXXIV. What abundance of sensual satisfaction have Thieves, Catamites, Parricides, and Usurpers been possessed of? We may guess at the quality of *Pleasure*, by its falling to the share of such Wretches as these.

XXXV. Don't you observe among your Artificers, tho' they bear the Contradiction and Impertinence of the Unskilful, yet they won't comply so far as to be talked out of their knowledge, or work against the Rules of their Trade? And is it not a scandalous business, that an Architect or a Physician, should have more regard for their *Profession*, than a *Man* has for his? For His I say, in which he has the honour of the Gods for his Partners. And what's a Man's Trade simply considered as a Man? Why nothing but the study and practice of Virtue, and Moral Philosophy.

XXXVI. The vast Continents of *Europe* and *Asia*, are but Corners of the *Creation*:
The

The Ocean is but a drop, and Mount *Athos* but a Grain in respect of the *Universe*: And the present instant of Time but a Point to the extent of Eternity. These things have all of them Little, Changeable, and Transitory Beings: Remember likewise that all things proceed from the *Soul of the Universe*, either by direct, or consequential Causality. Thus the growling Deformity of a Lyon; the Poyson of Serpents, Thorns and Dirt, and whatever seems Coarse, or Offensive in Nature, start out of something more Noble, or belong to the Entireness of her Beautiful Productions. *Don't therefore suppose them insignificant and unworthy the *Being* you worship, but consider the Fountain from whence all things spring.

*See Book
3. Sect. 2.
Book 8. Sect.
50.

XXXVII. He that has taken a View of the *present* Age, has seen as much as if he had began with the World, and gone to the end on't; for all things are of a Kind, and of a Colour *.

*See Book
2. Sect. 14.
Book 9.
Sect. 35.

XXXVIII. The mutual Dependence all things have, and the Relation they stand in to each other, is worth your frequent observation: For all the Parts of *Matter* are in some measure linked together, and interwoven, and for this reason have a natural Sympathy for each other. And thus *Motion* and the *Continuity* of *Matter*, makes one

one *Body* consequent, and connected to another *.

* This Section seems to be levell'd against Epichyus's Hypothesis of a Vacuum.

XXXIX. Bring your *Will* to your *Fate*, and suit your *Mind* to your *Circumstances*. And love those People heartily, that 'tis your *Fortune* to be engaged with.

XL. Those Tools, and Utenfils are said to be right, when they serve for the uses they were made; Tho' in this Case the Artificer that made them is commonly absent. But in the Works of Nature, the *Forming Power* is always present with the *Effect*, and deserves a particular Regard. From hence you are to conclude that as long as you behave your self as this Sovereign Power directs you, you'll have your wishes in every thing. Indeed 'tis this bent of Inclination which makes the Gods happy, and gives satisfaction to the *Soul* of the *Universe*.

XLI. If you suppose any thing which lies out of your command, to be Good or Evil; your missing the one, or falling into the other, will unavoidably make you a Malecontent against the Gods, and put you upon hating those People whom you either know or suspect to be instrumental in your Misfortune. To be plain; our mistake in this supposition and pursuing Objects above our reach, often makes us very unreasonable and unjust. But if we confine the Notion

tion of Good and Evil to Things in our Power, then all the Motives to Complaint, and ill-nature will drop off ; then we shall neither Remonstrate against Heaven, nor quarrel with any Mortal living.

XLII. All People concur in some measure to the purposes of Providence, tho' all are not sensible of it. And thus as I remember, *Heraclitus* observes, that those who are asleep, may be said to help the World forward. In short, the grand Design is carried on by different Hands, and different Hearts too. For even he that complains, makes head against his Fate, and strives to pull the Administration in pieces, even such a testy Mortal as this, is useful in his way : * Consider then how you are ranged, and whether you have joyn'd the Dutiful, or the disaffected Party. For he that Governs the World, will certainly make you good for something, and prove serviceable to his Scheme, one way or other. Have a care you don't serve for a Foil or a Jest ; and make such a ridiculous Figure in Nature, as that *Doggril* did in the *Play Chrysippus* mentions.

* See Book
9. Sect. 42.

XLIII. Every one should keep to his Post, and be contented with the Assignments of Providence. The Sun never covets the properties of a Shower, nor does one God interfere with another. Every thing is serviceable

viceable in his own Station; and unressembling Causes unite to advantage in the Effect. Are not the Stars different from each other? And yet their influences agree together upon Sublunary Productions.

XLIV. If the Gods have decreed me any thing, they have decreed my advantage. If not they must either be mistaken in their measures, or unbenevolent in their Design: Now as the first part of this Supposition is absurd, so the latter is incomprehensible. For to what purpose should they intend me any harm? What would themselves, or their *Universe* get by it? But granting they have made no particular provision for me, yet since their Government of the World is not disputed, the consequence will be much the same: For this way my affairs will be comprehended, and fall within the compass of their general Providence, and why then should I not be contented with whatever happens? To put the Case farther. Suppose the Gods take care of nothing, which by the way we must reckon a scandalous Opinion; or else 'twill be high time to leave off the common Solemnities of Sacrificing, Prayers and Religious Swearing: if things lie thus, why all this Superstitious trouble in these, and many other instances? To what purpose should we behave our selves as if we were in the very
Court

Court and Company of Heaven? However, since a supposition implies nothing of reality, let it pass for once: If the Gods therefore will take care of none of us, 'tis certainly Lawful for me to take care of my self. Now 'tis my Right to state the Notion of my own Convenience, and what is that? Why, that's convenient for every one, which suits his Nature, and his *Species*: Now my Nature has Reason, Sociable Principles, and publick Inclination in't: By consequence the Interest of my Country must be my own. Take me then under the particular Distinction of *Antoninus*, and *Rome* is my Town and Country; but consider me as a Man in general, and I belong to the *Corporation* of the *World*. That therefore, and only that, which is serviceable to both these *Societies*, is an advantage to me.

XLV. Whatever happens to particulars, is serviceable to the *Universe*, that Thought might satisfy. But we can carry the Reasons for Acquiescence farther. For upon Observation you will perceive that what is profitable to one Man, is in some measure for the *Interest* of the rest. And here I take the word *Profit*, in the sense of common acceptance, and not on the Language of the *Stoicks* *.

* The *Stoicks* esteem'd nothing profitable but Virtue and Honesty, tho' at the same time they allow other things to be useful.

XLVI. You may remember at a *Play*, or such resembling Diversions, coming over
and

and over with the same thing, tires the Sense, and extinguishes the Pleasure, Remove this Contemplation into Life; For here all things come round; And bring the same Causes and Appearances along with them. How long then will it be before you are cloyed with these Repetitions?

XLVII. Consider with your self, that People of all Conditions, Professions and Countries, are forc'd to Dye: Cast your Eyes upon what sort of Mortals you please, and you'll find them go the way of all Flesh. And we must take our turn too with the rest, and remove to the same place whither so many famous Orators, and Philosophers, Generals, Princes, and Heroes have shewn us the way. Those great *Sages Heraclitus, Pythagoras, and Socrates*; Those Celebrated Mathematicians *Endoxus, Hipparchus, and Archimedes*, had no privilege, or protection against Fate. Not to mention a great many other extraordinary Genius's; Persons of Industry, Reach, and Spirit: They are all gone. Even those *Buffoons*, who like *Menippus* were always Flouting, and Fleering at Mankind, 'tho' they lived in Jest, they dyed in Earnest. Remember they are all in their Graves: And where's the harm of all this? Nay what are those the worse for't, that have not so much as left their own Names behind them? In a word,

word, There's only one thing here worth the minding ; And that is, not to imitate the Degeneracy of Mortals : But to be True, Honest, and Good-natur'd, even amongst Knaves, and Sharpers.

XLVIII. When you have a mind to divert your Fancy, consider the good Qualities of your Acquaintance. As the enterprizing Vigour of this Man, the Modesty of another, the Liberality of a Third, and so on. For there's nothing so Entertaining as a lively Image of the Virtues, and Advantages of those we Converse with. Let such an Idea therefore be always ready, and at hand.

XLIX. You are not Angry because you weigh so light in the Scale ; and don't Ride *Forty Stone* : Why then should you be dissatisfied because your Life is not drawn out to an unusual, and extraordinary Period ? You ought to be no more *Covetous* of Time, than you are of Bulk, but be contented with the common Allowance.

L. 'Tis good to try to bring People to a right understanding of the Case ; but if they grow troublesome, be govern'd by your own Conscience, and never ask any bodies leave to be Honest. If there comes a force upon you, and stops your Progress, disengage and be easy, and make a Virtue of Necessity. Remember that you undertook

took the Business, upon the condition of its being Feasible, and ne'er pretended to grasp at Impossibilities. What was it then you aim'd at? Why to do your best, and secure your Reason. Right! And this may be effectually done, tho' the Enterprize should happen to miscarry.

LI. The Ambitious Person Lodges his Happiness in the Fancy of another: The Voluptuary Admires at Home, and keeps within the reach of his Senses; but a Man of understanding depends upon himself, and makes Action, and not Appetite his Pleasure.

LII. We are at liberty not to misinterpret any Accident, and by consequence may be free from Disturbance: Things have no such power over Thoughts, as to make us of what Judgment they please.

LIII. Accustom your self to attend to what is Discours'd; and as far as you can, get into the Soul of him that speaks.

LIV. That which is not for the Interest of the whole Swarm, is not for the Interest of a single Bee.

LV. If the *Patient* rails at the Doctor, or the *Crew* at the Master of the Vessel, who will they mind, or what good is to be done upon them? Or which way can either Health, or a good Voyage be expected?

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LVI.

LVI. How many People that came into the World with me, are gone out of it already?

LVII. Honey tastes bitter to such as are troubled with an overflowing of the Gall, and People bitten by a Mad Dog, are frighted at the sight of Water: And on the other hand, a little Ball is a curious thing to a Child. This consider'd, why should you be angry with any one? Can you imagine that Error and Ignorance has less force upon the Mind, than a little Gall, or Venome upon the Body?

LVIII. As no body can rob you of the privileges of your Nature, or force you to live Counter to your Reason, so nothing can happen to you but what comes from Providence, and consists with the Interest of the *Universe*. *

* See Book
5. Sect. 8.

LIX. Consider with your self, what sort of People your Men of Popularity must court, what scandalous Submissions they are obliged to, and what poor returns they have for their pains? And then how soon Death, and Oblivion sweep all before them.

BOOK VII.

WHAT is Vice, and Wickedness?
No Rarity you may depend on't.
When

When you are in danger of being Shock'd, consider that the sight is nothing but what you have frequently seen already. To be brief, Men and Manners are generally much what a like. All Ages and Histories, Towns, and Families; are of the same Complexion; and full of the same Stories: There's nothing new to be met with; but all things are common, and quickly over.

II. Opinions, whether right or wrong, can never be pull'd out of your head, unless the Grounds, and Reasons of them are first remov'd. 'Tis your Interest therefore to awaken your Memory, and refresh those Notions which are Serviceable, and well examin'd. For the purpose: you may say to your self, 'tis in my power to form a right Judgment upon the present Emergency; And why then should I be disturb'd at it? For nothing that does not enter my Mind, and get *within* me, can hurt me. Hold to this, and you are safe. Come, I'll tell you a way how you may live your Time over again: Do but recollect, and review what you have seen already, and the work is done.

III. Gazing after Triumphs, and Cavalcades; the Diversions of the Stage-Farms well stock'd with Flocks and Herds; contests for Victory in the Field; These are the little Pleasures, and concerns of Mortals. Would you have a farther Illustration, and

see an Image of them elsewhere? Fancy then that you saw two or three Whelps quarrelling about a Bone; Fishes scrambling for a Bait, Pismires in a peck of troubles about the Carriage of a Grain of Wheat; Mice frighted out of their Wits, and scouring cross the Room; Poppets dancing upon a Wire, &c. And after all, tho' Humane Life is but ordinary, and trifling, a Wise Man must be easie and Good-humour'd, and not grow Splenetick, or Haughty upon the Contemplation. Remembring notwithstanding, that the true Bulk and Bigness of a Man, is to be measur'd by the size of his Business, and the Quality of his Inclinations.

IV. Don't let either Discourse or Action pass unobserved, attend to the Sense and Signification of the one, and to the Tendency and Design of the other.

V. Am I sufficiently qualify'd for this Business or not? If I am, I'll make use of my Talent as given me by Heaven for that purpose. If I am not, I'll either let it alone, and Resign it to a better Capacity, or else I'll do what I can, I'll give my Advice, and put the executing Part into an Abler Hand; And thus by looking out for help, the Juncture may be nick'd, and the General Interest secur'd. For whatsoever I Act either by my self, or in *Conjunction* with another, I am always to aim at the advantage of the *Community*.

VI.

VI. How many Famous Men are dropt out of History, and forgotten? And how many Poets and Panegyrists, that promised to keep up other Peoples *Names*, have lost their own?

VII. Never be ashamed of Assistance: Like a Centinel at the Storming of a Town, your business is to maintain your Post, and execute your Orders. Now suppose you happen to be Lame at an Assault, and can't mount the Breach upon your own Feet, won't you suffer your Comrade to help you?

VIII. Be not disturb'd about the Future; for if ever you come to it, you'll have the same Reason for your Guide, and Protection, which preserves you at present.

IX. All parts of the *Universe* are Interwoven, and Tyed together. And no one thing is Foreign, or Unrelated to another. This general Connexion, gives Unity, and Ornament to the World. For the World, take it altogether, is but One: There's but one sort of *Matter* to make it of, one God to govern it, and one Law to guide it: For run through the whole *System* of Rational Beings, and you'll find Reason, and Truth, is but single, and the same. And thus Beings of the same kind, and endued with the same Reason, are made happy by the same Exercises of it.

* See Book
4. Sect. 14.

X. All Compositions of *Matter* fly off apace to the Common Stock, and Receptacle: Spirits are quickly swallow'd up in the Soul of the *Universe*, * and so is *Memory*, and *Fame*, in the Gulph of Time.

XI. With Rational Beings Nature, and Reason is the same thing. By consequence to act according to the one, must be to act according to the other.

XII. Either stand upright upon your own Legs, or let another support you.

XIII. Does Continuity and Connexion create Sympathy and *Relation*, in the Parts of the Body? Why Resemblance, and as one may say, Consanguinity of Nature, does the same thing among Rational Beings; For tho' they are not tack'd together by *Extension*, and Union of *Place*; They seem all made to cooperate with each other. This Thought will be more Intelligible and Affecting, if you frequently consider your self as a *Member* of the *Rational System*; But if you reckon your self only a *Part*, this Relation will prove too weak for a Principle of Action. This Remoter Notion won't Cherish good Nature enough, nor carry it to a Just Improvement. You won't love Mankind so heartily as you should do: Under this Persuasion; a generous Action will ne'er Delight and Regale you; you'l do a good Office meerly

ly for Fashion and Decency, but not as if it was really a kindness to your self.

XIV. Let Accidents happen to such as are liable to the Impression, and those that feel Misfortune, may complain of it if they please. As for me, let what will come, I can receive no Damage by it, unless I think it a Calamity; and 'tis in my power to think it none, if I have a mind to it.

XV. Let Peoples Tongues, and Actions be what they will, my business is to keep my Road, and be Honest. And make the same Speech to my self, that a piece of Gold, or an Emerald should, if they had Sense and Language: Let the World talk and take their Method, I shan't mind it, but sparkle and shine on, and be true to my *Species*, and my Colour.

XVI. Does not the Mind give the Man the Disturbance? Does she not bring Fears, and Fits of the Spleen upon her self? Let any other Body try to disquiet her if they can; When they have done their worst, 'tis in her power to prevent the Impression. And as for this small *Carcase*, let it Complain, and *Feel*, and be Frighted, if it know how. 'Tis true the Soul is the Seat and Principle of Thought, and by consequence of Passion, and Pain; However this Passive Capacity will do no harm, unless you throw her into Fancies, and Fears

* The old
Stoical Pa-
radox.

* A Stoical
piece of va-
nity.

about it: * For the Mind is in her own Nature self-sufficient, and must create her wants before she can feel them. * This privilege makes her Impregnable, and above Restraint; unless she Teazes, and puts Fetters upon her self.

* That is a
Vulgar Opin-
ion concern-
ing
Good and
Evil: Now
all People
are the Vul-
gar with the
Stoicks ex-
cept them-
selves.

XVII. What is Happiness but wise Think-
ing, or a Mind rightly dispos'd? Why
then does Fancy * break in and disturb the
Scene? Be gone! I'll have nothing to do
with the Impostures of Imagination! How-
ever since they have Custom to plead
in their Excuse, let them withdraw, and
I'll forgive them.

XVIII. Is any one afraid of Dissolution
and Change? I would gladly know what
can be done without it? If the Course of
Nature, and the method of the *Universe*,
won't reconcile us to the Expectation, we
are somewhat unreasonable. Pray must
not your Wood be turn'd into a Coal, be-
fore your Bath can be ready for you?
Must not your Meat be *changed* in your Sto-
mack to make it fit to Nourish you? In-
deed what part of Life or Convenience can
go forward without Alteration? Now in all
likelihood a Revolution in your Carcass,
and Condition, may be as serviceable to the
World in general, as those Alterations
abovemention'd are to you.

XIX. All particular *Bodies*, are quickly
Dis-

Diffolved, and Hurried through the *Universal Mass*, where at last they incorporate, grow serviceable, and become a sort of Limbs to the *World*. How many such eminent Sages, as *Chrysippus*, *Socrates*, and *Epictetus*, have sunk in the Gulph of Time; And the same Reflection will hold good concerning any other Person, or Thing whatsoever.

XX. I am only solicitous about one Thing; And that is, lest I should not Act up to the Nature, and Dignity of a Man; Lest I should fail in some of the Circumstances of my Duty; and mismanage either in the Matter, Manner, or Time of doing it.

XXI. 'Twill not be long before you will have forgotten all the World; and in a little time, to be even, all the World will forget you too.

XXII. 'Tis the privilege of Humane Nature above *Brutes*, to love those that disoblige us; To practise with Ease and Inclination, you must consider, that the Offending Party is of Kin to you, that Ignorance is the cause of the Misbehaviour; that the Will, and the Fault seldom go together, * that you'll both of you quickly be in your Graves; but especially consider that you have received no harm by the Injury: For if your Reason is untouch'd, and your Mind ne'er the worse, there can be no Damages done.

* See this Paradox farther explained, Sect. 3.

XXIII.

XXIII. God, or the Spirit of Nature, works the Mass of *Matter* like Wax. Now for the purpose, 'tis a Horse; soon after you'll have it melted down, and Run into the Figure of a Tree; And from this Form 'tis possible it may remove into the Flesh and Bones of a Man; or what you please. And 'tis but a little while that 'tis fixt in one *Species*. Now a Trunk feels no more pain by being knocked in pieces, than when it was first put together. *

* This Similitude is brought to insinuate the Minds Independence on the Body; which is all Paradox.

XXIV. A four gruff look is very unnatural, and to put it on often will make it settle; and destroy the Beauty, and Pleasantness of the Aspect to that degree, that 'tis never to be recovered: From whence you may conclude it a foolish custom.

XXV. 'Tis high time for those People to Dye, that have out-lived the Sense of their own Misdemeanours.

XXVI. That *Being* which governs Nature, will quickly change the present Face on't. One thing will be made out of another, by frequent Revolutions; And thus the World will be always coming new out of the Mint.

XXVII. When any one misbehaves himself towards you, immediately bethink your self what Notions he has concerning Advantage and Disadvantage: When you have found out this, you'll pity him, and
neither

neither be angry, nor surpris'd at the Matter. It may be upon enquiry, you may find your Opinions upon these points much the same, and then you ought to pardon him; for you would have done the same thing your self upon the same Occasion. But if your Notions of *Good* and *Evil*, are different, and more just than his, then your Passion will yield to your Good Nature, and you'll easily bear with his Ignorance.

XXVIII. Don't let your Head run upon that which is none of your own. But pick out some of the best of your Circumstances, and consider, how eagerly you would wish for them, were they not in your possession; but then you must take care to keep your satisfaction within compass, for fear it should carry you too far, make you over-value the Object, and be disturb'd at the loss of it.

XXIX. Fortifie at home, and rely upon your self. For a Rational Mind is born to the privilege of Independance. Honesty, and the Inward Quiet consequent to it, is enough in all Conscience, to make you Happy.

XXX. Rub out the Colours of *Imagination*; * Don't suffer your Passions to make a *Machine* of you. Confine your Care to the *present*; * Look through the Quality, and press into the Nature of that which happens

* See Sect.

17.

* See Book

3 Sect. 12.

& alib.

• See Book
4. Sect. 21.

pens either to your self, or another. Distinguish the parts of your Subject, and divide them into *Matter* and *Form*, and into Body, and Spirit * when they have them: Think upon your Last Hour; and don't trouble your self about other Peoples Faults, but leave them with those that must answer for them.

XXXI. When you hear a Discourse, make your Understanding keep pace with it, and reach as far as you can into those Things which fall under your Observation.

XXXII. Would you set off your Person, and recommend your self? Let it be done by Simplicity and Candour, by Modesty of Behaviour, and by Indifference to External Advantages: *Love* Mankind, and resign to Providence: For as the Poet observes, *All things are under Law, and Superiour Direction.* And what if the Elements only had their Course chalk'd out, and their Motions prescribed them? But we may carry the conclusion farther. For there are at the most but very few things in the World perfectly turn'd over to Chance and Liberty.

XXXIII. Let Death make *Atomes*, or *Vacuum* of me, or what you please, 'twill come to this upshot at last; 'Twill either extinguish my *Being*, or Translate me to another State.

XXXIV. As for Pain, if 'tis intolerable the

the extremity will destroy it self, and quickly dispatch you : If it stays long, you'll be big enough to grapple with it. Your Mind in the mean time will save her self by the strength of Thought, keep undisturb'd, and suffer nothing. * And for your Limbs that lye under the Execution, if they can complain; and make out any thing, let them do it. * The old Paradox.

XXXV. To moderate your Ambition about Fame, consider the Generality of the People that are to commend, and take notice of you ; How Insignificant they are ; and how little in their Pursuits, and Aversions ? Consider also that as one Heap of Sand thrown upon another covers the First, so it happens in the business of Fame, A new Glory eclipses an old one ; and the later Age is a sort of an Extinguisher to the former.

XXXVI. A saying of *Plato*. * 'He that has raised his Mind to a due pitch of Greatness, that has look'd through the World from one end to the other, and carried his View through the whole extent of Matter and Time, do you imagine such a one will think Humane Life any great business? Not at all, (says t'other Man in the Dialogue :) what then ? Will the fear of Death afflict him? Far from it. * Plat. De Repub. l. b. 6.

XXXVII. There's a great deal of Truth in

in that sentence of *Antisthenes*. 'That 'tis
'the Fate of Princes to be ill spoken of for
'their Good Deeds.

XXXVIII. 'Tis a shame that a Man
should not be Master of his Mind, as well
as of his Countenance. That his *Will* should
be stronger for his Looks than for his
Thoughts; prescribe what Air he pleases
to the first, and let the other lye Mutinous,
and Ungovernable.

XXXIX. 'Tis to no purpose to fall out with
*Accidents, and Things, for they don't care a
Farthing for't* *.

* Euri-
p-
Bel-
leroph:
Here
the Em-
pe-
rour tran-
scrib'd some
Sentences of
the Poets in-
to his Com-
mon place
Book.

† This ad-
vice seems
intended for
his Son *Com-
modus*.
|| Euri-
p-
Hyp-
p-
1.

XL. Manage your self with that Advan-
tage, that I, and the God's too, may have
pleasure and satisfaction in your Conduct †.

XLI. Fate Mows down Life like Corn, this
Mortal falls; And t'other stands a while ||.

XLII. Is my Family struck out of Provi-
dence, and do the God's forget me? If it be
so, they have reason for their neglect.

XLIII. Virtue and Happiness, is a Present
I can make my self.

Aristoph.
Acham.

XLIV. Not too much Sympathy with other
Peoples sorrow; And keep your Passions from
all kinds of Transport, and Excess.

* Plato
Apolog.

XLV. More of Plato's Sentences. * To
'such a one I should return this very rea-
'sonable Answer. Hearn ye Friend, you
'are mightily out, if you think a Man that's
'good for any thing, is either afraid of
Liv-

‘ Living, or Dying. No : His concern is
 ‘ only to bring his Actions to the Test, to
 ‘ secure his Practice, and stand clear of
 ‘ Knavery, and Misbehaviour.

XLVI. *Plato* again : * ‘ Gentlemen, in ^{Apolog.}
 ‘ my opinion, when a Man is satisfied with
 ‘ his own choice, or put into a Post by his
 ‘ Superiours, his business is to stand Buff
 ‘ against Danger and Death, and fear no-
 ‘ thing but Disgrace and Cowardice.

XLVII. *Plato* once more. ---† ‘ With <sup>† *Plato*
Gorgias.</sup>
 ‘ your favour Sir, ’Tis not always the part
 ‘ of Virtue and Bravery, to preserve either
 ‘ your own Life, or your Neighbours. He
 ‘ that’s a Man in good earnest, must not be
 ‘ so mean as to whine for Life, and grasp
 ‘ intemperately at Old Age : Let him leave
 ‘ this point to Providence. The Women in
 ‘ the *Nursery* can tell him ; that we must
 ‘ go, when our time is come. His Duty is
 ‘ to consider, how he may make the most
 ‘ of his Life, and spend what there is to
 ‘ the best advantage.

XLVIII. Let the Transmutation and
 shuffling of the Elements be frequently the
 Subjects of your Meditation : Consider the
 Course of the Stars as if you were driving
 through the Sky, and kept them Company.
 Such Contemplations as these brighten the
 Soul, and scour off the Rust contracted by
 conversing here Below.

XLIX.

XLIX. 'Tis a handsome saying, that of *Plato's* : ' That when we consider the State
' and Condition of Mankind, we should
' place our Imagination upon some lofty
' Pyramid, or *Observatoire* ; and from thence
' take a Prospect of the World, and look it
' over as it were at one View. Here we may
' see how Mortals are drawn up into Towns,
' and Armies in one place, and dispers'd
' for Husbandry in another ! Here are abundance of Things to be seen together, Marriage and Confederacy treated by Nations
' and Families, Births and Burials, Feasting
' and Jollity at one House, and all in Tears
' at another. Here they are in a mighty Hurry at the Bar, and there up to the Ears in
' Trading and Merchandize. Towards the
' end of the prospect, it may be you may
' see a great deal of Barren, and Uninhabitable Wilderness, with variety of Barbarous People beyond it. Take it altogether, 'tis a strange medly of Business, Humour, and Condition ; And yet if you consider it thoroughly, you will find the Diversity and Disagreement of the parts,
' contribute to the Beauty of the whole.

L. By looking back into History, and considering the Fate and Revolutions of *Government*, you will be able to draw a Guess, and almost Prophecy upon the Future. For things *Past*, *Present*, and to *Come*,
are

are strangely Uniform, and of a Colour ; and are commonly cast in the same Mould. So that upon the Matter, Forty years of Humane Life, may serve for a Sample of Ten Thousand.

LI. *What's sprung from Earth, dissolves to Earth again, And Heaven born things fly to their Native Seat* *.

* Eurip.
Chrysis

If the Matter does not stand thus, either the *Atomes* will be untwisted, or the Elements scatter'd into insensibility.

LII. *We feed our selves up for long Life with a great deal of Care and Expence ; But alas ! Fate will find us out, and when the Gods give the Sign, we must Embark, tho' never so unwilling* †.

† Eurip.

LIII. Can another Man Ride, or Fence, better than you ? it may be so. But tho' you may fall short in your *Exercises*, let no Body out-do you in Virtue and Behaviour. Let no Body be more Liberal, and Modest, more Resign'd, and Forgiving than your self.

LIV. As long as a Man can make use of his Reason, and Act in concert with the Gods, he needs not question the Event. There can be no grounds to suspect Misfortune, provided you stick close to Nature, and manage within the Character of your condition.

LV. 'Tis always, and every where in your power, to resign to the Gods, to be

T

just

just to Mankind; and to examine every Object with that Nicety, as never to be impos'd on.

*The Nature of the Universe, is God in the Language of the Stoicks.

LVI, Ne'er make any rambling enquiries after other Peoples Thoughts, but look directly at the Mark which Nature has set you. Nature I say, either that of the *Universe* *, or your own: The first leads you to submission to Providence; the latter to act as becomes you. Now that which is suitable to the Frame and Constitution of things, is what becomes them. To be more particular: The rest of the World is design'd for the Service of Rational Beings, in consequence of this general Appointment, by which the lower order of Things, are made for the use of the more Noble. And Rational Creatures, standing all upon a Level, are design'd for the Advantage of each other. Now a Beneficent and Social Temper, is that which Humane Nature was principally intended for: The next Thing design'd in our Being, is to be proof against corporeal Impressions. It being the peculiar privilege of Reason to move within her self, to fortifie against an Assault, and not suffer *Sensation*, or *Passion*, to break in upon her. For these are both of *Animal*, and inferiour Quality. But the *Understanding part*, claims a right to Govern, and won't bend to *Matter*, and *Appetite* 3

petite; And good reason for't, since she was born to command and make use of them. The third main Requisite in a Rational Being, is to secure the *Assent* from Rashness, and Mistake. Let your Mind but compass these points, and stick to them, and then she is Mistress of every thing which belongs to Her.

LVII. We ought to spend the Remainder of our Life as if 'twas more than we expected, and lent us on purpose for wiser Management.

LVIII. Let your Fate be your Inclination, for there's nothing more reasonable and prudential.

LIX. When any Accident happens, call to mind Those who have formerly been under the same Circumstances, how full of Surprise, Complaint, and Trouble they were about the matter: And where are They now? They are gone, their Murmuring could not make them Immortal. To what purpose should you imitate their Behaviour: Can't you leave foreign Humours and Things, to their own Mismanagement and Biass? Your business is only to mind your Conduct, and give a Turn of Advantage to the Emergency. Now you may be the better for the Misfortune, if you will but take care, and do nothing but what is warrantable. Always remembering, that Accidents

cidents are indifferent in themselves, and only good, or bad for us, accordingly as we use them.

LX. Look Inwards, and turn over your self; For you have a lasting Mine of Happiness at home, if you will but Dig for't.

LXI. Take care that your Motions and Gestures may be Grave, and Compos'd: For the same Air of Sense and Decency, which the Mind can put into the Face, ought to be visible through the whole Body: But then all this must be done without the least Affectation.

LXII. The right Knack of Living, resembles Wrestling more than Dancing: For here a Man does not know his Movement, and his Measures beforehand: No, He is oblig'd to stand strong against Chance, and secure himself as occasion shall offer.

LXIII. Well! It seems you desire to be commended: But what sort of People are They that must do you this Kindness, and how are their Understandings Furnish'd? Truly if you do but consider the Size of their Sense, and the disorder of their Passions, you'll pity their ignorant Misbehaviour, and not care a rush for their Approbation.

* Plato charges Ignorance and Vice upon the Misfortunes of Constitution or Education, *Plato. Timæus.*

LXIV. 'Tis a saying of Plato's, * that *no Body misses Truth by their Good-will.* The same may be said with reference to Honesty,

neſty, Sobriety, Good Nature, and the like: Be particularly careful to remember this Hint, for 'twill help to ſweeten your Temper.

LXV. When you lie under any Corporal Affliction, let this Lenitive be at hand to relieve you; That there is no Scandal in Pain, That the Sovereign Part of your Mind is ne'er the worſe for it. For how can ſhe ſuffer, unleſs her Eſſence, or her Benevolence were impair'd? Beſides, *Epicurus's* Maxim will help to ſupport you under moſt Pains; For as he obſerves, They will either be *Tolerable*, or *quickly over*. But then you muſt keep your Notions Tight, and not run into the common Opinion about them*. And here you muſt remember, that there are many more *Senſations* than we are aware of, which belong to the Nature of Pain. Such as Nodding, when one would be awake, Broiling in the Heat of the Sun, and Naufeating ſome part of our Diet. Now when you find your ſelf Fret and grow diſturb'd at theſe Things; take notice that you are catch'd Napping; and that *Pain* has gotten the Better of you.

* See Book 8. Sect. 49.

LXVI. Don't return the Temper of Ill-natur'd People upon themſelves, nor treat them as they do the reſt of Mankind.

LXVII. Which way are we to conclude that *Socrates* was a better Man in Virtue and Temper, than *Telauges**. To make out this,

* A Philoſopher of a ſlender Character:

* One *Salaminus* a
Man of For-
tune.

'tis not enough to say, that he disputed better, and died Bolder. The Austerity and Discipline of his Life; his Bravery in slighting the Orders of the *Thirty Tyrants*, and refusing to apprehend an Innocent * Person; The Gravity and Greatness in his Mien and Motion: (Tho' the truth of this last particular may be question'd:) All this Glitter won't make the Character shine out. To prove the point, we must examine what sort of Soul *Socrates* carried about him: Could he be contented with the Conscience of an Honest and a Pious Man? Did he not Fret and Fume to no purpose at the Knavery, and Wickedness of the Age? Was he govern'd by no Bodies Ignorance? Did he never question the Equity of Providence, grow surpriz'd at his hard Fortune, and sink under the Weight of it? To conclude, Did he keep Pain and Pleasure at a due distance, and not dip his Soul too deep in his Senses? These Marks are the only Test of a Great Man; and 'tis to no purpose to pretend to that Character without them.

LXVIII. Nature has not wrought your Composition so close, as to destroy the properties of *Matter*, and *Spirit*: No, the Mind is in a condition to distinguish her Faculties, to set out her Jurisdiction, and do her own business her self. And now I think on't, lodge this always in your Memory;
That

That a Man may be a first Rate in Vertue, and true Value, and yet be very obscure at the same time. You may likewise observe, that happiness lies in a little Room: Granting your Talent won't reach very far into *Logick*, and *Natural Philosophy*. This can't hinder the Freedom and Greatness of your Mind, nor deprive you of the Blessings of Sobriety, Beneficence, and Resignation.

LXIX. You may live with all the freedom and satisfaction imaginable, tho' the whole World should Bawl against you, and cry you down; Nay, tho' a brace of Lions should quarter upon your Carcass, and tear you Limb from Limb. For pray how can any thing of this, reach up to your Mind, and ruffle her serenity *? How can it prevent your passing a right Judgment upon your Circumstances, and making the best use of them? And thus your Reason may repel the Attack, and argue thus against the Object of Terror. 'Look ye! You are not
'so Fierce as you are Painted; Nature has
'made you one thing, and common mistake
'another. To be plain, I expected to en-
'gage you, and now you are come, I'll
'turn you to some account or other. For
'tis my way, to make every thing serve
'for something. In short, you may work
any Accident into an instance of Virtue;
into a performance of some Duty, either

* The Old
Paradox.

to God, or Man: By consequence we need not be surpriz'd, or over-set by any Rencontre. For to take things rightly, there's nothing new in them, or difficult to deal with.

LXX. He that's come to the top of Wisdom, and Practice, spends every Day as if it were his last; And is never guilty of over-driving, Sluggishness, or Insincerity.

LXXI. Tho' the Gods are immortal, and have their patience tryed through so many Ages, yet they not only bear with a wicked World, but provide Liberally for it into the Bargain: And are you that are just going off the Stage sick of the Company? Are you tired with ill Men already, and yet one of those unhappy Mortals your self?

LXXII. 'Tis great Folly to run from other Peoples Faults, and not part with your own: This is going quite the wrong way to work, grasping at a Project impracticable, and losing an Advantage which lies in your power.

LXXIII. Whatever Business tends neither to the Improvement of your Reason, nor the benefit of Society, conclude it beneath you, and manage accordingly.

LXXIV. When you have done a kindness, and your Neighbour is the better for't, what need you be so Ignorant, as to look any farther, and lie gaping for Reputation and Requital?

LXXV.

LXXV. No body is ever tired with Favours, and Advantages: Now to Act in Conformity to the Laws of Nature and Reason, is certainly an Advantage? Don't you therefore grow weary of doing good Offices, for by obliging others, you are really kind to your self.

LXXVI. There was a time when God and Nature was employed in making the World: So that *Now* all Events must either be consequences of Decree, and Result from the first Measures; or else the *Soul of the Universe* * fail'd in the Execution of ^{God} her principal Design. Now the absurdity of this latter supposition, will go a great way towards the making a Man Easie.

B O O K VIII.

TO keep you Modest, and Mortified to vain Glory, remember that it has not been your good Fortune to spend your Life wholly in the pursuit of Virtue, and Wisdom: Your Friends and your self too, are sufficiently acquainted how much you fall short of *Philosophy*: And tho' Merit, and Character are sometimes parted, yet the bare Report of being a Philosopher, is no easie matter for you to compass: You are unqualified by your *Station*, and too much

much Embarrass'd for this Privilege. However, since you know how to come at the thing, ne'er be concern'd about missing the Credit on't. Be satisfied therefore, and for the rest of your Life let your own Rational Nature direct you. Mind then what she would be at, and let nothing Foreign disturb you. You are very sensible how much you have Rambled after Happiness, and fail'd. Neither Learning, nor Wealth, nor Fame, nor Pleasure, could ever help you to it. Which way is it to be had then? By Acting up to the height of Humane Nature. And how shall a Man do this? Why by getting a right Set of Principles for Thoughts, and Practice. And what Principles are those? Such as State and Distinguish Good and Evil. Such as give us to understand, that there is nothing properly good for a Man, but what promotes the Virtues of Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Benevolence; nor any thing bad for him, but that which carries him off to the contrary Vices.

II. At every Action, and Enterprize, ask your self this question; what will the consequence of this be to me? Am I not likely to repent of it? I shall be dead in a little time, and then all's over with me. If the present undertaking is but suitable to an Intelligent, and Sociable *Being*, and one that
has

has the honour to live by the same Rule, and Reason with God himself; If the Case stands thus, all's well, and to what purpose should you look any farther?

III. *Alexander, Julius Caesar, and Pompey*, what were they in Comparison of *Diogenes, Heraclitus, and Socrates*? These Philosophers look'd through *Cause, Matter*, and Consequence, and understood the Nature, and Use of Things. This was Noble Furniture for a Man's Head, and Happiness: But as for those great Princes, what a Load of Cares were they pester'd with, and how much Slaves to their Ambition?

IV. Ne'er disturb your self, for People will be untoward, and play the same Pranks over again, tho' you should fret your heart out.

V. In the first place, keep your self easie, for all things are govern'd by the Laws, and Order of Providence: Besides, you'll quickly go the way of all Flesh, as *Augustus, Adrian*, and the rest of the Emperours have done before you. Farther, Examine the matter to the bottom, and remember, that the top of your business is to be a Good Man: Therefore whatever the Dignity of Humane Nature requires of you, set about it presently, without Ifs, or Ands: And speak always according to your Conscience, but let it be done in the Terms of Good Nature and Civility.

VI.

VI. 'Tis the method of *Providence*, to change the Face of Things, and remove Fortune and Success from one place to another. All Conditions are subject to Revolution ; so that you need not be afraid of Unusual Treatment. For you stand upon no worse ground than the rest of the World ; and will only have your share of the common Fate.

VII. Every Being is at ease, when the Powers of it move regularly, and without interruption. Now a Rational Being is in this prosperous Condition, when her Judgment is gain'd by nothing but Truth, and Evidence ; when her Designs are all meant for the Advantage of *Society*. When her Desires, and Aversions, are confin'd to Objects within her Power ; when she rests satisfied with the Distributions of Providence : For which she has great reason ; in regard she is a part of it her self * ; And with as much propriety as a Leaf belongs to the Nature of the Tree which bears it : Only with this difference, that a Leaf is part of a Nature, without Sense, or Reason, and lyable to be check'd in its Operations ; Whereas a Man is a Limb, as it were, of an Intelligent Righteous, and Irresistible Being. A Being that is all Wisdom ; And assigns *Matter* and *Form*, *Time*, *Force*, and *Fortune*, to every thing in due Mea-

* The Stoicks believ'd the Soul a part of God.

Measure, and Proportion. And this you'll easily perceive if you don't stop short in your speculation; and make a lame Enquiry; But compare the whole of one thing, with the whole of another.

VIII. You have no leisure to read Books, What then? You have leisure not to be Haughty, or play the Knave. 'Tis in your power to be Superiour to your Senses, and paramount over Pleasure and Pain. To be deaf to the Charms of Ambition, and look down upon Fame and Glory. 'Tis in your power not only to forbear being angry with People for their Folly, and Ingratitude, but over and above, to cherish their Interest, and take care of them.

IX. Never censure a Court Life, nor seem dissatisfied with your own.

X. Repentance is a reproof of a Man's Conscience, for the neglect of some Advantages. Now whatever is Morally good is Profitable, and ought to be the Concern of a Man of Probity: But no Good Man was ever inwardly troubled for the Omision of any pleasure, or the balking of his Senses: From whence it follows, that pleasure strictly speaking, is neither profitable, nor Good.

XI. To go to the Bottom of a Thing, these Questions should be answered, what is it in its proper Nature and Distinction?

Of

Of what sort of *Matter*, and *Form* does it consist? What share of *Force* and *Action* has it in the *World*? and how long is it likely to stay there?

XII. When you find your self sleepy in a Morning, remember that business, and doing service to the *World*, is to Act up to Nature, and live like a Man: Whereas sleeping does but degrade you for the time, and bring you down to a Beast. Now those Actions which fall in with the Design and Properties of Nature, are more suitable, and serviceable, and upon a Custom, more pleasant than others.

XIII. Upon every new *Idea*, let it be your constant Custom to make use of your Talent in *Physicks*, *Metaphysicks*, and *Morality*, and examine the Object in the respective Enquiries of those Sciences.

XIV. When you are about to converse with any Person, make this short speech to your self. How does this Man's Definitions stand affected? What Notions has he about *Good*, and *Evil*? Nay if his Understanding is so misled, if he has such unfortunate Opinions concerning Pleasure, and Pain, and the Causes of them; If his Fancy, or his Fears are misapplied, or over proportion'd with respect to Reputation, or Ignominy, to Life or Death; If the Case stands thus with him, I don't wonder
at

at his Practice; for indeed 'tis next to impossible he should do otherwise.

XV. Would it not be an odd instance of surprize to stare at a Fig-tree for bearing Figs? Why then should it seem strange to us, for the World to Act like it self, and produce things pursuant to Quality, and Kind? This is just as Foolish as it would be for a Physician to wonder at a Fever, or a Master of a Vessel at a cross Blast of Wind.

XVI. To Retract or mend a Fault at the Admonition of a Friend, hurts your Credit or Liberty, no more than if you had grown wiser upon your own Thought. For 'tis still your own Judgment and Temper, which makes you see your mistake, and willing to retrieve it.

XVII. If what is done displeases you, why do you do it, if 'tis in your power to let it alone? But if you can't help it, who do you complain of? The *Atomes*, or the *Gods*? * Either way is distraction, and therefore we must murmur against nothing. If you can mend the Matter, go about it: If you cannot, what are you the better for Grumbling? Now a Man should never do any thing to no purpose.

XVIII. Whatever drops out of Life, is catch't up somewhere, for the World loses nothing. † Within this Circumference of *Corporeity*, all things have their several *Forms*,

* That is
Chance or
Providence,
for the
World must
be govern'd
by one of
them.

† That is,
nothing is
Annihilat-
ed.

¶ All Bodies
are made of
the same
Matter.

Forms, and *Revolutions*; And here 'tis likewise that they return into *Element*, and first Principle; Under which Notion those of the World and your own, are the very same; || And all these last Changes are made without the least Repining: And why then should the same *Matter* that lies quiet in an *Element*, Grumble in a *Man*?

• The Em-
perour
means the
Stars which
the Heathen
and some
Christians
too believed
to be ani-
mated; And
that a Spirit
or Intelli-
gence was
seated in the
Center, and
Governed
Motions of
the Lumina-
ry.
† Or Provi-
dence.

XIX. *Providence* does not grant Force, and Faculties at Random, but every thing is made for some end: The Sun as high as 'tis, has its business assign'd, and so have the Celestial Deities: * And where's the wonder of all this? But pray what were you made for? For your pleasure? Common Sense won't bear so scandalous an Answer.

XX. Nature † pre-ordains the End of every thing, no less than its Beginning, and Continuance: As he that strikes a Ball, designs whither it should go, as well as *which way*: And what's the Ball the better all this while for mounting, or the worse for flying Lower, and coming to the Ground? What does a Bubble get in the swelling, or lose in the breaking? The same may be said of a Candle, which is every jot as happy out, as burning.

XXI. Turn your Carcass the wrong side outwards, and be proud if you can; And to improve your thought, consider what a *Beauty*,

Beauty, Age, Diseases, and Death, will make of you ; And to keep you low in your Computations upon Fame, consider that both the Orator, and the Hero, the Men, and the Merit, will quickly go off, and be out of sight ; that the *Earth* is but a *point*, and that we live but in a Corner of this little Dimension neither, That Men differ in their Notions of Honour and Esteem ; and that even the same Person, is not of the same Opinion long together.

XXII. Mind that which lies before you, whether it be Thought, Word, or Action : You are well enough serv'd, * for Post-
 posing your Improvement, and making Virtue wait for you till to Morrow.

* Here the Emperor refers to some disappointment.

XXIII. Am I about any thing ? I'll do it with regard to the Interest of Mankind : Does any thing happen to me extraordinary ? I'll receive it as the appointment of Fate, and the Distribution of Heaven.

XXIV. Think a little, and tell me what you meet with in the business of *Bathing* ? There's Oyl, and Sweat, and Dirtiness, and Water, but an Offensive Mixture take it all together. Why Life and Satisfaction is made up of much such indifferent Stuff ; but Coarse if you examine it to the Bottom.

* *Lucilla* was our Emperor's Daughter, and married to *Vernus*, who was his Partner in the Empire.

XXV. *Lucilla* Buried *Vernus*, * and follow'd him soon after. *Secunda* did the same Office for *Maximus*, and surviv'd but a lit-

U

tle

* Antoninus
Pius's Em-
press.
† An Oration,
or Rhetorick
Master to
our Empe-
ror, and his
Colleague
Lucius Ver-
ginius.

tle while. And thus it fared with *Epitynchanus*, and *Diotimus*, with *Antoninus*, and *Faustina*, * with *Celer*, † and the Emperour *Adrianus*; they assisted at one Funeral, and quickly made another themselves. Thus poor Mortals moulder away! Where are those Men of Reach, and Prognostication? And t'other haughty fantastical Sparks? They made a great Noise and Figure formerly, but what's become of them now? Where are those Celebrated Philosophers, *Charax*, *Eudæmon*, *Demetrius* the Platonist, and others of their Learning, and Character. Alas! They took but a turn in the World, and are gone long since. Some of them have sunk to Rights, and left no Memory behind them; The History of others is overcast, and dwindled into *Fables*, and a Third sort have decayed farther, and dropt even out of a *Romance*. Your business is therefore to remember, that after Death your Body will fall in pieces, and fly off into *Atomes*; And as for your Spirit, that will either be extinguish'd, or remov'd into another Station.

XXVI. Pleasure and Satisfaction, consist in following the Bent of Nature, and doing the things we were made for. And which way is this to be compass'd? By the Practice of general Kindness, by neglecting the Importunity, and Clamour of our Senses,

ses, by distinguishing Appearance from Truth, and by contemplating the Nature and Works of the Almighty. All this is acting according to kind, and keeping the Faculties in the Right Channel.

XXVII. Every Man has three Relations to acquit himself in: His Body helps to make one, the Deity another, and his Neighbours a Third.

XXVIII. If Pain is an Affliction, it must affect either the Body or the Mind; If the Body is hurt, let it say so; * As for the Soul, she can secure the Passes, and keep the Enemy at a distance; 'Tis in her power to be invulnerable, by supposing the Accident no Evil, which supposition is very practicable; For Judgment and Appetite, Aversion and Desire, and all the Equipage of Thought, are lodged *within*, and there no mischief can come at them *.

* See Book
7. Sect. 16.

* The old
Paradox.

XXIX. Discharge common Prejudice, and the Fallacies of Fancy, by saying thus to your self. 'Tis in my power to be as Easie, and as Innocent as 'tis possible. To have nothing of Vice, of Appetite or Disturbance in me. I am likewise in a Condition to State the Value, and distinguish the Quality of Things, and make use of them accordingly. These are all privileges of Nature, and ought to be remembered as such.

XXX. When you speak in the Senate, or elsewhere, mind Decency and Character more than Rhetorick ; And let your Discourse be always Sincere, and agree with your Meaning.

XXXI. *Augustus* his Court is buried long since ; His Empress, and Daughter, His Grand Children, and Sons in Law, his Sister and *Agrippa*, His Relations and Domesticks, Physicians, and Under-sacrificers, His Favourites, such as *Arius* the Philosopher, and *Mæcenas*, they are all gone.

Go on from single Persons to Families ; that of the *Pompeys*, for instance, and you'll find the whole Line Extinct. *This Man was the last of his House*, is not uncommon upon a Monument. How solicitous were the Ancestors of such People about an Heir ; and yet the Family must of necessity sink, and the Blood fail at one time or other.

XXXII. Govern your Life altogether by Measures, and Rules : And if every Action goes its due lengths, and holds up to opportunity, rest contented : Now no Mortal can hinder you from putting your Affairs in this condition. But may not some Obstacle *without* interpose ? No : Not so far as to prevent your Acting like a Man of Probity and Prudence. For all that, my Motions may be check'd, and my Design balk'd : 'Tis no matter for that. As long as you are
casie

ease under the Obstruction, and pass on smoothly to what comes next; This Behaviour is as good as going thorough, and serves your Improvement, as well as Success.

XXXIII. As to the Case of good Fortune; Take it without Pride, and Resign without Reluctance.

XXXIV. If you have observ'd a Hand, or a Foot, cut off, and remov'd from the Body, just such a thing is that Man to his Power, who is either a Malecontent, or Over-selfish; who struggles against *Fate*, or breaks off from the Interest of Mankind.

* This untoward behaviour amounts to Amputation, and destroys the Union of Nature. But here lies the Good-luck of the Case; 'Tis in your power to retrieve the Maim, and set the Limb on again: This favour is allow'd to no other part of the Creation. Consider then the particular Bounty of God Almighty to Man in this privilege. He has set him above the Necessity of breaking off from Nature, and Providence at all; But supposing his Miscarriage; 'Tis in his power to rejoin the *Body*, and grow together again, and recover the advantage of being the same Member he was at first.

XXXV. Whence comes all the Powers and Prerogatives of Rational Beings? From the *Soul* of the *Universe**: Amongst other • God.

Faculties, they have this which I am going to mention. For as God over-rules all Mutinous Accidents, brings them under the Laws of *Fate*, and makes them serviceable to his purpose ; So 'tis in the power of Man, to make something out of every cross Adventure, and turn all Opposition to Advantage.

XXXVI. Don't take your whole Life into your Head at a time, nor burthen your self with the weight of the *Future*, nor Form an Image of all probable Misfortunes ; This Method will but confound you. On the contrary, your way is upon every Emergency, to put this Question to your self, *what intolerable Circumstance is there in all this ?* For here your Honour will secure you, you'll be asham'd to assign particulars, and confess your self Conquer'd. Besides, you are to remember, that neither what's *past*, nor what's to *come* needs afflict you, for you have only to deal with the *present*. Now this is strangely lessen'd, if you take it single, and by it self ; Chide your Fancy therefore if it offers to shrink from a Moment, and grow faint under so slender a Tryal.

* Princes
us'd to have
some of
their
Friends or
Domesticks
sit constantly
at their
Tombs for
sometime
after they
were Dead.

XXXVII. Does *Panthea* and *Pergamus* still wait at the Tomb of *Vernus*, or *Chabrias*, and *Diotimus*, at that of *Adrian* ? * That would be stuff indeed ! And what if they were

were there, would those Princes be sensible of the Service? Granting they were, what satisfaction would it be to them? And suppose they were pleased, would these Waitors last always? and be Immortal? Are they not doom'd to Age and Death, with the rest of Mankind? And when they are dead, what a pickle would the Royal Ghosts be in, for want of their Attendance? Alas! These Fancies have nothing in them; All this Ceremony must end at last in Stench and Dust.

XXXVIII, If you are so discerning, says the Philosopher, make use of your Talent to some purpose; and let your Subject be proportionable to your Parts.

XXXIX, I find no Moral Virtue which Contradicts and Combates *Justice*, this can't be affirm'd of *Pleasure*, for here Temperance comes in with a Restraint.

XL. 'Tis Opinion which gives Being to Misfortune, don't fancy yourself hurt, and nothing can touch you. But what, is this *You*? Is it not some Notional Superfine Thing? No. 'Tis your Reason. But I am not so lucky as to be all Reason. Make your self so then, and don't let Reason Degenerate, and grow uneasy. In short, when any thing troubles you, let this Thought be your Remedy.

XLI. To be check'd in the Functions of Sense and Motion and Desire, is an Evil to the *Animal Life* ; That which hinders the growth or flourishing of a *Vegetable*, may be said to be an Evil there. So likewise to be cramp'd in the Faculties of the Mind, is an Evil to an *Intelligent Nature* : Apply all this to your self. Does Pleasure or Pain Solicit, or Attack you ? Turn them over to your *Senses*, and let them answer for't. Does any thing lie cross your undertaking ? Why if you were positive and pe-reemptory about it, and set your Heart upon't, then the Disappointment is really an Evil : But if you engag'd only upon Condition the Nail would drive, and with a reserve for Accidents, then no manner of hindrance or harm has happen'd to you ; Indeed no Mortal can lay the Soul by the *Heels*, or put a Restraint upon her. The Mind if she will but Arm her Thoughts, and Exert her Courage, is Impregnable : And neither Fire nor Sword, *Tongue* nor Tyrant, can touch her.

XLII. Why should I Fret, and Vex, that never willingly vexed any body * ? Certainly I can have no reason to be more un-kind to my self, than to other People.

XLIII. Every Man has his particular Gust, and Inclination, but my pleasure lies in Wise Thinking, and Reasonable Desires ;

* The Em-perour seems here to be under the Sense of some Ingratitude, and ill usage extraordinary.

fires: Give me a Sound and a Sober Understanding: A Temper that never falls out either with Men, or Accidents: That takes all things with good humour, computes rightly upon their Value, and puts them to the Uses they are fit for.

XLIV. Make the best of your Time while you have it: Those who are so solicitous about Fame, and think of Living here after they are Dead, such Men I say ne'er consider that the World won't mend by growing older; That Future Generations, will be as weak, and Disobliging, as the *present*: What then can the Noise or Opinions of such little Mortals signifie?

XLV. Toss me into what Climate or State you please: For all that I'll keep my Genius * in good Humour; that is, my own Conscience, if 'tis Good, shall make me Happy. Let me but perform the Duties of a Reasonable Nature, and I'll ask no more. What! Is this Misadventure big enough to ruffle my Mind, and throw her off the Hinges? To make her Mean, Craving, and Servile, and to fright her from the Privileges of her Nature? What is there that can justifie such Disorders, and make satisfaction for them?

XLVI. No Accident can happen to any Man but what is consequent to his Condition, and common to his kind. And the same

same thing may be affirm'd of a Beast, a Tree, or a Stone. Now if things fare no otherwise than according to Kind, and Constitution; what makes you complain, and grow uneasy? You may be assur'd Providence will never lay you in the way of an intollerable Evil, nor make your Being your Grievance.

XLVII. If *Externals* put you into the Spleen, take notice that 'tis not the thing which disturbs you, but your Notion about it: Which Notion you may dismiss if you please. But if the condition of your Mind disgusts you; who should hinder you from rectifying your Mistakes, and setting your Thoughts in order? Farther, if you are disturb'd because you are not Active and Bold in the Discharge of your Duty: If this be your Case, your way is to fall on, and do something, and not lie growling at your own Omission. But you are under some insuperable Difficulty. If you have done your utmost, ne'er vex your self about the Matter? For you have nothing to answer for. It may be you will say, 'tis not worth my while to Live unless this Business can be effected. Why then e'en Die; But take your leave handsomly: Go off as smoothly, as if you had succeeded; And ben't angry with those that disappointed you,

XLVIII.

XLVIII. The Mind is invincible when she exerts her self, and relies upon her own Courage; In this Case there's no forcing her *Will*, tho' she has nothing but Obstinacy for her Defence. What then must her strength be when she is fortified with Reason, and Engages upon Thought and Deliberation? A Soul unembarrass'd with Passion*, is the most impregnable Security; Hither we may retire, and defy our Enemies: He that sees not this Advantage, must be ignorant, and he that forgets to use it, Unhappy.

* That has nothing of Hope, or Fear, of Assertion, or Desire to weaken it.

XLIX. Don't add to your Information from *without*, nor make more of things than your *Senses* Report. For Instance: You are told that such a one has spoken ill of you. Right, But that you are really the worse for't, is no part of the News; And if you think so, 'tis your own Addition: Again: I see my Child lie Sick: True; But that he is in Danger is more than I see; And therefore if I conclude so, I must thank my self for't. Thus always stop at the first *Representation*, and you are safe: Inferences, and Supplemental Fancies, do but make a Man Unhappy. But if you will Reason upon't, (which may not be unserviceable) do it the right way: Do it like a Man that has look'd through the World, and is no Stranger to any thing that can happen.

L. Does

L. Does your *Cucumber* tast bitter? Let it alone. Are there *Brambles* in your way? Avoid them then. Thus far you are well: But then don't ask *what does the World with such stuff as this is?* This is to be too Bold, and Impertinent; And a Natural Philosopher would laugh at you: This Expostulation is just as Wise as it would be to find fault with a Carpenter for having Saw-dust, or a Taylor Shreds in his Shop; They know where to bestow them, tho' you don't. Nay if you examine farther, the Absurdity is too big for the Comparison: For *Universal Nature* has no place for Refuse out of her self. All things are lodged within her Circumference. Here'tis that they grow Old, and Moulder, and seem good for nothing. But then under all these Disadvantages the wonder of her Contrivance is such, that she Melts them down, and Re-coins them in another Figure, and sends them new and shining from the *Mint*. And thus she neither wants any Foreign Ore, or *Bye* place to throw the Dross in: But is always abundantly furnish'd with *Room*, and *Matter*, and Art, within her self.

LI. Be not heavy in Business, nor disturb'd in Conversation, nor Rambling, and Impertinent in your Thoughts. Keep your Mind from running adrift; from sudden Surprise, and Transports, and don't over-

overfet your felf with too much Employment. Do they Curfe you? Do they threaten to Kill, and Quarter you? Let them go on: They can never murther your Reason, nor your Virtue: Thofe Privileges run for *Life* if you please. All this Barbarity fignifies little. 'Tis much as if a Man that ftands by a Lovely Spring fhould fall a railing on't: The Water is never the worfe for his foul Language: And if he fhould throw in Dirt, or Dung, 'twould quickly difappear, and difperfe, and the Fountain be as wholfome as ever: Which way now are you to go to work, to keep your Springs always running, and never Stagnate into a Pool? I'll tell you: You muft be always Drudging at the Vertues of Freedom, and Independance; Of Sincerity, Sobriety, and Good-nature. Make your felf but Master of thefe Qualities, and your bufinefs is done.

LII. He that's unacquainted with the Origin, and firft Caufe of the World, and with that Providence that Governs it, muft be at a lofs to know where He is, and what *Empire* he lives under: And he that can't tell the Ends he was made for, is Ignorant both of himfelf, and the World too: And he that's uninstructed in either of thefe two Points, will ne'er be able to look into the Design of His *Being*. And yet

yet there are abundance of People that would be puzzled at these Questions. What do you think then of His Discretion, that's anxious about what is said of Him; and values either the Praise, or the Censure of those little Folks, that know neither *where* They are, nor *who*?

LIII. Nothing can be more vain than the Courting of Popular Applause. What! Are you so Ambitious of a Man's good Word, that it may be in an Hour's time shall Curse himself to the Pit of Hell? Are you so fond of being in their Favour, that can't keep in their own? Striving to please those People that can't please themselves, is to no manner of purpose! And how can they be said to please themselves, who are dissatisfied with their Conduct at every turn, and Repent of almost every thing they do?

LIV. Let your Soul receive the Deity as your Blood does the Air, for the Influences of the one, are no less Vital than the other. This Correspondence is very Practicable; For there's an Ambient Omnipresent Spirit, which lies as open, and pervious to your Mind, as the Air you breath does to your Lungs: But then you must remember to be dispos'd to draw it.

LV. Wickedness is no Substance, or Separate Being, and therefore one would think

think it should be no Necessary Nuisance. It subsists only in particular Subjects, and here it does no harm to any thing that is Foreign. 'Tis only a Plague to the Breast it lies in; and does no body any mischief, but him that may be rid of it whenever he pleases.

LVI. My Thoughts and my Will, are as much my own, as my Constitution; and no more concern'd in the Conduct of another Man, than my Blood is in the beating of another Body's Pulse: For tho' we are born for the Service of each other; Yet our Liberty is Independent, and our Souls all left to our selves: Otherwise my Neighbour's Miscarriage might be my Misfortune. But God has prevented this Consequence, least it should be in another's power to make me Unhappy.

LVII. The Sun is Diffus'd and bestows himself every where, but this seeming Expendence never Exhausts him: The reason is, because he is stretched like a Thread, and not pour'd out like a Liquor. And thus his Beams have their name from Extension *
As for the Properties and Philosophy of a Ray, you may observe them, if you please to let it into a dark Room through a narrow passage. Here you'll see it move in a right Line, till 'tis broken, and as it were divided in Reflexion; by having its progress

* *extends*
from 'Ex-
tension' as
the Empe-
rour will
have it.

gress stop'd upon a solid Body : And here the Light makes a stand, without dropping, or sliding off. Thus you should let your *Sense* shine out upon Conversation : There's no fear of Emptying your understanding : And when you meet with Opposition ne'er Tilt, and Batter against it, nor yet drop your Talent in Despair. No : Let your Beams spread themselves, and play on, and Enlighten where they find a Capacity : And as for that Body that won't transmit the Light, it does but darken it self, by its Resistance.

LVIII. He that dreads Death, is either afraid that his Senses will be extinguish'd, or alter'd : Now if the Powers are lost, the Pain must be so too ; For if he has no Faculties, he'll have no Feeling. But if he has new Perceptions, and another Sett of Senses, he will be another Creature ; and then he will live still, as I take it.

LIX. Men are born to be serviceable to one another, therefore either Reform the World, or bear with it.

LX. Understanding does not always drive onward like an Arrow. The Mind sometimes by making a Halt, and going round for Advice, hits the Mark much better, than if she had let fly directly upon it.

LXI. Look nicely into the Thoughts of other People, and give them the same Freedom with your own.

BOOK

B O O K IX.

TO play the Knave is to Rebel against Religion, all sort of Injustice is no less than High-Treason against Heaven: For since the *Nature*, or *Soul of the Universe* * has made Rational Creatures for mutual Service, and Support; Made them that they should Assist, and Oblige each other, according to the Regards of Circumstance, and Merit; but never do any body any Harm: The Case standing thus, he that crosses upon this Design, is Profane in his Contradiction, and Outrages the most Antient Deity. For the Nature of the *Universe* is the Cause of it, and that which gives it Being. Thus all things are one Family, suited, and as it were of Kin to each other. This *Nature* is also stiled *Truth*, as being the Basis of First Principles, and Certainty. He therefore that tells a Lye knowingly, is an Irreligious Wretch; For by deceiving his Neighbour, he is unjust to him; and Cheats him of the Truth to which he has a Natural Right. And he that's guilty of an Untruth out of Ignorance, is lyable to the same Charge, (tho' not in the same Degree,) because his Ignorance is Voluntary, and Affected; because he dissents from the Mind of Providence

X

dence, brings Disorder into the World, and opposes the first Settlement of Nature. He seems to be fond of Confusions, to declare for the Interest of Error, and take the Field against Certainty and Science. By neglecting the assistances of Heaven, and the Talent he was born to ; He has parted with the Guide of his Understanding, lost the Test of Truth, and the distinction of Right, and Wrong. Farther : He that reckons Prosperity and Pleasure among Things really Good ; Pain and Hardship amongst Things really Evil, can be no Pious Person : For such a Man will be sure to complain of the Administrations of Providence, Charge it with Mismatching Fortune, and Merit, and misapplying Rewards and Punishments : He'll often see ill People furnish'd with Materials for Pleasure, and Regaled with the Relish of it : And good Men harass'd and deprest, and meeting with nothing but Misfortune. To go on : He that's afraid of Pain, or Affliction ; will be afraid of something that will always be in the World ; but to be thus uneasy at the Appointments of Providence, is a failure in Reverence, and Respect. On the other hand ; He that's violent in the pursuit of Pleasure, won't stick to turn Villain for the Purchase : And is not this plainly, an Ungacious, and an Ungodly Humour ?

mour? To set the Matter Right, where the Allowance of God is equally clear; as it is with Regard to Prosperity, and Adversity: For had he not approved both these Conditions, He would never have made them: I say where the Good Liking of Heaven is equally clear, Ours ought to be so too: Because we ought to follow the *Guidance of Nature*, and the Sense of the Deity. That Man therefore that does not Comply with Providence in the same Indifference of Notion, with respect to Pleasure, and Pain, Life and Death, Honour, and Infamy; He that does not this, without struggling of Passions, without Unmanageable Preference, or Aversion, is no Friend to the Divine Oeconomy; His Thoughts are Leud, and Mutinous, and so would his Actions be too, if he had Power.

By saying that *Universal Nature*, or God stands equally Affected to these different Dispensations, the meaning is that they are both comprehended in the general Scheme, and equally consequent to the first Establishment. They were Decreed by the Almighty from the Beginning, and struck out with the Lines of the Creation. Then 'twas that the *Plan of Providence* was drawn, and the Fate of Futurity Determin'd. Then Nature was made Prolifick, and enabled to bring forth in due Time: Then the

whole *Stock* of *Beings*, the *Revolutions* of *Fortune*, and the *Successions* of *Time*, were all stated, and set a going.

II. He is better Bred, and more a Gentleman, that takes leave of the World without a blot in his Scutcheon; and has nothing of Falshood and Dissimulation, of Luxury or Pride, to tarnish his Character. But when a Man is once dipt in these Vices, the next best thing is for him to quit, rather than live on, and be an Old Sinner. I suppose you understand the Plague too well not to run away from it? And what's the Plague? Why if you are a Knave, or a Libertine, you have the Tokens upon you. The Infection of the Mind is ten times worse than that of the Air; The Malignity is not near so fatal in the *Blood*, as in the *Will*; For the *Brute* only suffers in the first Case, but the *Man* in the other.

III. Don't Contemn Death, but take it handsomly, and willingly; Look upon it as part of the Product of *Nature*, and one of those things which *Providence* has been pleas'd to Order. For as Youth, and Age, Growth, and Declension, Down, and Gray Hairs, Pregnancy, and Birth, &c. are all natural Actions, consequences of Time, and Incidents of Life; so also is Dying and Dissolution, every jot as much according to Common Course as the rest. A
wise

wise Man therefore, must neither run Giddily, nor stalk Haughtily into his Grave; He must look upon Death as *Nature's* Business, and wait her Leisure, as he does for the Progress, and Maturity of other Things: For as you don't overdrive a *Fætus*, but let it take its own time, and come into the World when 'tis ready; So you should stay in the other Case, till opportunity presents, and Things are Ripe; and your Soul drops out of the Husk of her own accord. But if you stand in need of a Vulgar Remedy, and want a Cordial to make Dying go down the better, you shall have it. Consider then what sort of World, and what sort of Humours, you will be Rid of! 'Tis true you are not to fall-foul upon Mankind, but to treat them with Kindness and Temper: But still you may remember that you don't live among People just of your own Mind, and Fancy: Indeed if your Humours Hit it, and your Understandings were all set to the same Tune; Such an Unanimity amongst Mortals, might reasonably Recommend Life, and make us loath to part with it: But you perceive the Matter is quite otherways: And that vast Disturbances are bred by different Opinions: Insomuch that now we ought rather to Petition Death to make halt, for fear we should be Teaz'd out of our Reason, and lose our best Thoughts in a Crow'd. IV.

* Here the Emperour seems to contradict his Stoical Opinion of the Lawfulness of Self-Murther.

IV. He that commits a Fault Abroad, is a Trespasser at Home ; And he that injures his Neighbour, hurts himself, for to make himself an ill Man is a shrewd Mischief.

V. Omissions no less than Commissions, are oftentimes Branches of Injustice.

VI. If your Judgment pronounces rightly, if your Actions are Friendly, and well-meant, if your Mind is contented, and resign'd to Providence ; If you are in possession of these Blessings, you are happy enough in all Conscience.

VII. Don't be impos'd on by *Appearances* ; check your Fancy, and moderate your Heat ; and keep your Reason always in her own Power.

VIII. The Souls of Brutes are all of one kind, and so are those of Rational Beings, tho' of a high Order. And thus all Living Creatures that have occasion for Air, and Earth, and Light, are furnish'd at the same Shop ; and have the same Elements, and Sun at their Service *.

* This Section proves that Mankind are all equal in the Grand Privileges of Nature.

IX. Things of the same common Quality have a Tendency to their Kind : Earthy Bodies tumble to the Ground, One drop of Moisture runs after another ; And thus Air where 'tis predominant, presses after Air : And nothing but Force, and Violence, can keep these things asunder. Fire likewise mounts, and reaches upwards, to make
after

after its own Element Above : This property gives it a Disposition to propagate it's Species, and joyn other Fires here Below ; And for this reason it catches easily upon all Fuel a little more dry than ordinary ; because here the Qualities opposite to Accension, are weak and disabled. Thus all Beings which partake of the same common *Thought*, and Understanding, have a natural Instinct for Correspondence with their own Kind : only with this difference, that the higher any thing stands in the *Scale* of Being, the stronger it is inclin'd to Communication with its own Order, and Distinction. To illustrate the Argument, we find the force of Nature, and Blood, very Active amongst *Brute Animals* ; As appears by their running together in Herds, and Swarms according to Kind ; by their providing for their Young Ones, and by that Resemblance of Love, and Affection, which is carried on among them. These *Animals* have a Soul in them ; by consequence their Principle of Union is more vigorous than in Stocks, and Stones. To go on to Reasonable Creatures : And here we may observe Mankind united by publick Counsels, and Common-wealths, by particular Friendships, and Families ; And when War has work'd them to the greatest Misunderstanding, They have even then

* The Em-
perour sup-
pos'd the
stars anima-
ted by a
Deity.

the benefit of Corresponding by Truce, and Articles: Farther to Instance in a higher Order; the Stars, * though not Neighbours in Situation, move by Concert. Thus where Things are more Noble, and Nature rises, Sympathy rises too, and Operates at a distance. But here lies the Misery on't: Mankind are strangely unfortunate with the privilege of their Reason! They are the only Beings which break through the Force of Instinct, and would make the Alliances of Nature signifie nothing. But tho' they run from their Kind, they are caught again in some measure. For you shall sooner see a piece of Earth refuse to lie by its own Element, than find any Man so perfectly unsociable, as not to Correspond with some body or other.

X. Every thing affords some product; God, and Men, and the World all of them bear *Fruit* in their proper Seasons; 'Tis true, Use has restrain'd this signification to Vines, and Trees; But this Custom apart, Reason may properly enough be said to *Bear*, when 'tis serviceable both at Home, and to the Publick: especially if we consider that the *Fruit* of the Understanding keeps close to its Kind, and resembles the *Stock* more fully than that which grows in the Garden.

XI. Give

XI. Give an injurious Person good Advice, and Reform him if you can. If not, remember that your Clemency, and Temper was given you for this Tryal ; That the God's are so patient, and Benign, as to pass by the perverseness of Men, and sometimes to Assist them over and above in their Health, Fame, and Fortune. Just thus may you do if you please, if not, let me know the Impediment.

XII. Don't drudge like a Galley Slave ; nor do business in such a Laborious manner, as if you had a mind to be pitied, or wondred at. Let your Motives be more Solid, And either put on, or make a Halt, as publick Reason, and Convenience shall direct you.

XIII. To day I rushed clear out of all Misfortune ; or rather I threw Misfortune from me : For to speak truth, it was no *Out-lyer*, nor ever any farther off than my own Fancy.

XIV. All things are the same over again, and nothing but what has been serv'd up to our Forefathers : They are stale upon Experiment ; Momentary in their Lasting, and Coarse in their Matter.

XV. Things, or Accidents stand without Doors, and keep their Distance, and neither know, or Report any things about themselves ; what is it then that pronounces

ces upon their Quality, and makes them look frightfully? Nothing but your own Fancy, and Opinion*.

* See Book
4. Sect. 39.
& alib.

XVI. As Virtue, and Vice consist in Action, and not in the Impressions of the Senses; so 'tis not what they *Feel*, but what they *Doe*, which makes Mankind either Happy, or Miserable†.

† See Book
6. Sect. 51.

XVII. 'Tis all one to a Stone whether 'tis thrown upwards, or downwards; The mounting, or sinking of the Motion, does not make the Thing one jot the better, or the worse||.

|| See Book
8. Sect. 20.

XVIII. Examine the size of Peoples Sense and the Condition of their Understandings, and you'll never be fond of Popularity, or afraid of Censure.

XIX. All things are in a perpetual Flux, and a sort of Consumption; you your self are so, and the whole World keeps you Company.

XX. Don't disturb your self about the Irregularities of other People, but let every bodies Fault lie at their own Doors.

XXI. The intermission of Action, and a stop in Appetite, and Thought, are a kind of Death upon the Faculties for the present; and yet there is no harm in't. Go on now to the different Periods of Life: And here you'll find Infancy, Youth, Manhood, and Old-age treading upon the Heels

Heels of each other; and the First as it were cut down, and dispatch'd by the latter. And where lies the Damage, and Terror of all this? Proceed to your Grandfather's time, and to that of your Father, and Mother, and run over as much Ground, in Changes, Decay, and Death as you please; And when you have done, ask your self what great Grievance there is in the Contemplation: And when you find nothing extraordinary, you may conclude that Ending, and Alteration will sit no harder upon your Life, than upon those before you.

XXII. Make a stand for Thought and Enquiry, and survey your own Mind, that of the **Universe*, and that of the Person who ^{God's} has Disoblig'd you: Your own, that you may keep it Honest; God-Almighty's, that you may know who you are part of, and to whom you belong; the Offender's, that you may discover whether his Fault was Ignorance, or Malice: And here you should likewise remember, that you are of Kin to him.

XXIII. As you are a Member of *Society* your self, so every Action of yours should tend to the Benefit, and Improvement of it. So that when you do any thing which has neither immediate, or remote Reference to general Advantage; you make a Breach
in

in the Common Interest, destroy the Unity of Publick Life, and are as really guilty of a Seditious behaviour, as a Malecontent that Embroils a Nation, and Draws off a Faction from the Government.

XXIV. The Business of Mankind is strangely Trifling and Transient; Things are so Hollow, and so quickly Hurried off, that the World looks somewhat like a Scene of Necromancy, and seems to be more Apparition than real Life*.

* See Book
5. Sect. 33.

XXV. Penetrate the Quality of *Forms*, and take a View of them, abstracted from their *Matter*; and when you have done this, Compute the common Period of their Duration*.

* See Book
4. 21, & 7.
29, & 12.
18.

XXVI. You have been a great sufferer for Rambling from a Life of Reason, and for not being contented with Doing what you were Made for.

XXVII. When People treat you ill, blame your Conduct, or report any thing to your Disadvantage; shoot your self into the very Soul of them; rummage their Understandings, and see how their Heads are Furnish'd; A thorough Enquiry into this Matter will set you at rest: You'l be fully convinced that the Opinion of such Mortals is not worth one troublesome Thought. However you must be kind to them, for Nature has made them your Relations.
Besides,

Besides, the God's * give them all sort of Countenance, Advertise them by Dreams and Prophecy, and help them to those things they have a Mind to. Whose Pattern ought to be follow'd.

XXVIII. This uncertain World is always Rolling, and turning things Topsy-turvy. Now the *Soul* of the *Universe* † either pursues the Course of Time; Descends to Particulars, and exerts it self upon every Effect, or else *Matter*, and *Motion* were put into such order at first, that Things should do of themselves, and work up the *Model* by necessary Consequence: Take it either way, and the Administration will lie in the same Hands; And that's sufficient to make you quiet. But if neither of these Hypotheses will satisfy, you must set *Epicurus's Atomes* at the *Helm*, and make them juggle out a World in the Dark. In a Word; If God Governs, all's well: But if Things are left to themselves, and set adrift, don't you Ramble, and Float after them. To conclude: We shall quickly be all Underground; And e'er long the Earth it self must be chang'd into something else; And that *Something* into another *Form*, and so on *in infinitum*. Now he that considers these Everlasting Alterations, this constant Tossing, and Tumbling, and how fast Revolutions succeed each other; He that considers, this I say, will have but a mean
Opinion

Opinion of what the World can afford.

XXIX. *Nature* runs Rapid like a Torrent, and sweeps All Things ; * What wretched States-men are those Counterfeits in Virtue, and Philosophy ? † Heark you Friend, no more Hypocrisy and Grimace, no *prudential* Knavery, no clashing between Politicks and Morals ! Come ! Let Honesty be serv'd first ; Do what God requires of you, and Trust for the Issue and Event : Fall on then, as occasion offers, and ne'er look about for Company, and Commendation : However, I would not have you expect *Plato's* Common-wealth : That Draught is too fine ; and your Morals will ne'er rise up to it. As the World goes, a moderate Reformation is a great Point, and therefore rest contented. If we can but govern Peoples Hands, we must let their Hearts and their Heads go free. To Cure them all of their Folly and ill Principles, is impracticable. And yet unless you can Change their Opinions, their Subjection will be all Force, and Dissembling. But you'll say, were not *Alexander*, *Philip*, and *Demetrius Phalerens* under the Rules of these pretended Philosophers ? And what a Noble Figure do they make in History ? Granting all that, I have a Question, or two to ask them. Had they a right Notion of the Laws of Nature, and were they Just, and Generous

* See Book
2. 17. 7. 19.
& alib.

† This Section is level'd against the Knavery of the Scepticks, who pretended to the Politicks.

rous in good earnest? If their Virtues were all Shew and Varnish, I desire to be excus'd the Imitation. Philosophy is a Modest Profession, 'tis all reality and plain-dealing. I hate Solemnity, and Pretence, with nothing but Pride at the Bottom.

XXX. Fly your Fancy into the Clouds, and from this Imaginary Height, take a View of Mortals here Below. What strange Medly of Management, what confusion of Prospect is here? What infinite Variety in Religion, Government, and Fortune? Go on with the Speculation, stretch your Thoughts over Time and Nature, and look upon Things in the different Aspects of the *past*, and the *present*; Consider how the World withers, and wears off; that the Ages before, were unacquainted with you, and so will many of those that come after. That neither your Power, nor your Fame, reaches far among the *Barbarians*; how many are there that never heard of your Name, how many that will quickly Forget you, and how many that Admire you Now, will Censure you Afterwards? In short, Memory, and Fame, and all those Things which are commonly so much Valued, are no better than Toys, and Amusements.

XXXI. Be always Easie, and Upright; Let Fortitude Guard *without*, and Honesty *within*; Keep your Mind, and your Moti-
ons

ons true to the Interest of Mankind, for then you know your Faculties are in the right posture, that Nature has set them.

XXXII. The greatest part of your trouble lies in your Fancy, and therefore you may Disengage your self when you please. I'll tell you which way you may Move much more Freely, and give Ease, and Elbow-room to your Mind. Take the whole World into your Contemplation, and the little time you are to Live in't. Consider how fast the Scenes are shifted, and how near the End of all things lies to their Beginning ! But then the Extent of Duration in which we are nothing concern'd ! The Ages before our Birth, and after our Death, are both Infinite and Unmeasurable.

XXXIII. Whatever makes a Figure Now, will quickly Decay, and Disappear : And those that Gaze upon the Ruins of Time, will be bury'd under them. And then the Longest, and the Shortest Liver, will be both in the same Condition.

XXXIV. If you would walk *within* People, and discover their Intentions, and look through their Ceremony, and Respect, you must strain for Observation ; and strip them to the Soul if you can : Such a narrow Enquiry will, among other Things, bring a great deal of Vanity to Light ; yes, Mortals are very full of themselves ; When they

they Commend, or Censure do you a good, or an ill Turn, They are strangely conceited of the performance.

XXXV. The Dissolution of *Forms*, is no loss in the Mass of *Matter*. Things are Chang'd this way 'tis true, but they don't Perish. Providence by which all things are well contriv'd, Delights in these Alterations, They have always had their Range in the World, and always will have. What then? Will you blame the Conduct of the First Cause? Were all Things *Made*, and must they always be out of Order? What! Are there so many Gods in Being, and none able to Conquer, and Correct this Evil? And is Nature indeed condemn'd to an Everlasting Misfortune?

XXXVI. The Materials of *Bodies*, if you examine them, are strangely Coarse: Those that are Animated have little in them but Water, and Dust, and Bones, and something that's offensive. And then if you go to Mettals, Minerals, &c. Marble is no more than a Callous Excrecence, nor Gold and Silver any better than the Dregs and Sediment of the Earth. Fine Cloths are nothing but Hair twisted together; and smear'd with the Blood of a little Fish*. And thus I might proceed farther. And as for *Spirits*, they are some-

* This made
the Purple
Dye.

Y

what

* The Stoicks held the Soul a Composition of Fire and Air, and by consequence it must be corruptible.

what of Kin to the rest, and are Chased from one Figure to another*.

XXXVII. Come! You have lived long enough, unless you could make more on't: Here's nothing but Grumbling, and Apishness, to be met with: What makes you Disturbed? What can you be surpriz'd at? What has happen'd to you worse than you had reason to expect? Does *Form* or *Matter*, *Body* or *Spirit*, make you uneasy? Look into them, and you may probably be relieved. Now for your Comfort, These Two are Natures, All, and there's no Third thing to Molest you. 'Tis high time therefore to Interpret the Gods rightly, and throw off your Chagrin against Heaven.

XXXVIII. Three Years time to peruse Nature, and look over the World, is as good as a Hundred*.

* See Book 3. Sect. 7.
Book 6.
Sect. 23.

XXXIX. If such a Man has done amiss, the Mischief is to himself; And it may be if you enquire, he has not neither.

XL. Either all Things are Ordered by an Intelligent Being, who makes the World but one Family, (And if so, why should a Part, or single Member complain of that which is design'd for the Benefit of the whole.) Or else we are under the Misrule of *Atomes*, and Confusion. Now take the Case which way you please, there's either no Reason, or no Remedy for Complaint:
And

And therefore 'tis to no purpose to be uneasy.

XLI. I hope you understand your Mind better than to Kill and Bury it, and make it little enough for the Coarse Functions, and Fate of the Body!

XLII. Either the Gods have power to assist us, or they have not, If they have not, what does praying to them signifie? If they have, why don't you rather pray that they would Discharge your Desires, than Satisfie them? and rather set you above the Passion of Fear, than keep away the Thing you are afraid of; For if the Gods can help us, no doubt they can help us to be Wiser. But it may be you'll say, They have furnish'd me sufficiently for these Matters. Why then don't you make use of your Talent, and act like a Man of Spirit, and not run Cringing, and Creeping, after that which is out of your reach? But then who told you that the God's don't assist us in Things which we might possibly compass by our selves? Let me prescribe the Matter of your Devotions. For Instance: This Man prays that he may Gain such a Woman, it may be to Debauch Her, but do you rather pray that you may have no such Inclination. Another invokes the Gods to set him Free from a troublesome Superiour; but let it be

your Petition, that your Mind may never put you upon such a Wish. A Third is mighty devout to prevent the loss of his Son? But I would have you pray rather against the Fear of Losing him. Let this be the Rule for your Devotions, and see if the Event does not Answer.

XLIII. When I was Sick, says *Epicurus*, I did not Discourse the Company about my Diseases, or the Torment I was troubled with. No, my System of Natural Philosophy was part of my Subject. And my main Concern was, that my Mind might not give way to my Body, nor grow uneasie under Pain. I made no great business of a Recovery, nor gave any Handle to the Doctors to brag of their Profession, but held on with Fortitude, and Indifferency. Thus he. And when you are Sick, or under any other Disadvantage, can't you behave your self in this manner? 'Tis practicable to all Persuasions in Philosophy, to stand their Ground against all Accidents, and not to fall into the Weaknesses, and Folly of the Ignorant: We must always be prepared for the *present*, Mind the Thing before us; and the Tools too with which we are to Work.

XLIV. When you are Shock'd by any Man's Impudence, put this Question to your self:

self: Is it possible for such Impudent People not to be in the World? No indeed *. Why then do you wish for an Impossibility? For this Lewd, Ill-behav'd Fellow, is one of those necessary Rascals, that the World can't dispence with. This Reflection will furnish you with Patience for a Knave, or any other ill Body. For when you consider that there's no living without this sort of Cattel, you'll treat them with more Temper upon occasion. And to fortifie you farther, you'll find that Nature has arm'd you at all Points, sent an Antidote against every Disease, and provided you some Virtue or other against all sort of Vice, and Immorality. For the purpose, if you have to do with a troublesome Blockhead, you have Meekness, and Temper for your Guard, and so of the rest. 'Tis likewise in your power, to inform the Man better, and set him right: For every one that does an ill Action, is really out of his way, and misses his Mark, tho' he may not know it. Besides, what harm have you receiv'd? If you examine the Case, you'll find none of these provoking Mortals have done your Mind any Damages: Now that is the only place in which you are capable of being hurt. Pray where's the Wonder if an Ignorant Fellow has done like himself? If you expected other things

*The Stoicks
fancied Vice
necessary to
the Being of
Virtue. V. d.
Annor. Ga-
rak.*

from him, you are much to blame. His want of Sence; or Principles, might make you conclude upon his Misbehaviour, and yet, when that which was most likely has happen'd, you seem surpriz'd at it. Farther, when you complain of a Notorious Knave, you are still more to blame. For tho' his Honesty might have been a Disappointment, Falshood ought to be none: And what could make you believe he would baulk his Custom, and Fancy for your sake? To go on: You have done a Kindness to such a Person, and because he makes no Return you grow Peevish, and Satirical upon him: In earnest, This is a sign that you had a mercenary View, and that you were but a Huckster in the Mask of a Friend; For otherwise you would have been satisfied with a generous Action, and made Virtue her own Reward. To argue the Point a little: You have obliged a Man; 'tis very well! What would you have more? Is not the Consciousness of doing a good Office, a sufficient Consideration? You have humour'd your own Nature, and acted upon your Constitution; and must you still have something over and above? This is just as if an Eye, or a Foot should demand a Sallery for their Service, and not see a Pin, or move a Step, without something for their Pains, For as these Organs
are

are contriv'd for particular Functions, which when they perform, they pursue their Nature, and attain their perfection; So Man is made to be Kind, and Oblige, and his Faculties are ordered accordingly. And therefore when he does a good Office, and proves serviceable to the World, he follows the Bent, and answers the End of his Being; and when he does so, he moves smoothly, and is always in the best Condition.

B O O K X.

I. **O** My Soul are you ever to be rightly Good, Uncompounded; and Uniform, Unmask'd, and made more Visible to your self than the Body that hangs about you? Are you ever likely to Relish Good Nature, and General Kindness, as you ought? Will you ever be fully satisfied, get above Want, and Wishing, and never desire to fetch your pleasure out of any Thing Foreign, either Living, or Inanimate? Not desiring I say, either *Time* for longer Enjoyment, nor *Place* for Elbow-room, nor *Climate* for good Air, nor the Musick of good Company? Can you abstract your self thus from the World, and take your leave of all Mortals, and be con-

* The World
or God. See
Book 4. Sect.
40. Book 5.
Sect 8.

tented with your present Condition, let it be what it will? And be persuaded that you are fully furnish'd, that all things will do well with you; for the Gods are at the Head of the Administration; And they will approve of nothing but what is for the best, and tends to the Security and Advantage of that Good, Righteous, Beautiful, and Perfect *Animal*,* which Generates, and supports all Things, and keeps those Things which Decay from running out of Compass, that other resembling Beings may be made out of them? In a word, Are you ever likely to be so happily qualified, as to Converse with the Gods, and Men in such a manner, as neither to complain of them, nor be condemn'd by them?

II. Examine what your Nature requires as if you had no other Law to Govern you. And when you have look'd into her inclinations never baulk them, unless your *Animal Nature*, or the Interest of your Body are likely to be worse for't. Then you are to examine what your *Animal Nature* or the Interest of your Senses demands; And here you may indulge your Appetite as far as you please, provided your *Rational Nature* does not suffer by the Liberty. Now your *Rational Nature* admits of nothing but what is serviceable to the rest of Mankind;
Keep

Keep to these Rules and you'll have no need of Rambling for farther Instruction.

III. Whatever happens, you have no reason to take it ill; For either you have strength to bear it or you have not: If you have, exert your Nature, and ne'er murmur at the matter. But if the weight is too heavy for you, 'twill crush your Senses, and then you won't feel it. And here you are to remember that to think a Thing tolerable, is the way to make it so: Now to think it necessary, is the way to think it tolerable. Press it but strongly from the Topics of Interest, or Duty, and you will go Thorough.

IV. Is any one Mistaken? Undeceive him Civilly, and show him his Oversight. But if you can't convince him, blame your own Management, tho' its possible you may not always deserve it.

V. Whatever happens to you, was pre-ordained your Lot, and that Chain of Causes which Constitutes *Fate*, tyed your Person, and the *Event* together, from all Eternity.

VI. Either *Atomes* and *Chance*, or *Nature* * are Uppermost: Now I am for the latter part of the Disjunction; and lay it down for a ground in the first place, that I am part of that *Whole* which is all under Nature's Government. Secondly, I am in some

* God.

some measure Related to those Beings which are of my own Order and *Species*. These Points being agreed, I shall apply them: Insomuch then as I am a part of the *Universe*, I shall never be displeas'd with the General Appointment: For that can never be prejudicial to the *parts*, which is serviceable to the *whole*. Neither is the *Universe* clog'd with any Incumbrance. For the Nature of no Being is an Enemy to it self. But the World * has this Advantage above other particular Beings, that there is nothing to Limit, or Over-rule it: No Foreign power to force it upon Unfriendly Productions. Since therefore I am a Member of so Magnificent a *Body*, and belong to such an Uncontrolable Sovereignty, I shall freely Acquiesce in whatever happens to me. Farther, in as much as I have a particular Relation to my own *Species*, I will never do any thing against Common Right, or the Interest of *Society*. On the other hand, I shall make it my Business to Oblige Mankind, lay out my whole Life for the advantage of the *Publick*, and forbear all sort of Liberty which has a Tendency to the contrary. And by holding to this Conduct, I shall be Happy of Course; As that Burgher must needs be who is always plodding for the Benefit of his *Corporation*, and perfectly satisfied with that Interest

* Or God.

terest and Station the Government shall assign him.

VII. Whatever lies within the Compass of the *Universe*, must of necessity Corrupt and Decay; By Corruption I mean only Alteration. Now if this be an Evil, 'tis a necessary one; by consequence the *Whole* of Nature must be in a bad Condition, by having the *parts* so slenderly put together, and so very much dispos'd to Moulder, and drop in pieces. And if the Case stands thus, *Nature* must either design unkindness to herself, by making the Parts of her own Body subject to an unavoidable Misfortune, or else she huddled up Things in the Dark, without foreseeing what would become of them. But both these suppositions are highly improbable. Now if any Man has a mind to leave *Nature*, or the First Cause, out of the Scheme, and affirm that Things follow the Make, and Tendency of their Constitution; He that affirms this, does but expose himself, by granting in the first place, that the Parts of the *Universe* are made for Alteration. And then falls a Wondring, and Growling at Decay, and Revolution; as if such Accidents were Unnatural, and Extraordinary: Especially since Things do but return whence they came, and fall back no farther than their first Principles. For upon the Dissolution
of

of particular Bodies, either the *Elements* are scatter'd at large, or else they march straight to their Head Quarters ; And that which is solid turns to Earth, and the particles of Air joyn their own *Element* ; And thus they are receiv'd into the main Body of the *Universe* ; The *Universe* I say, which will either be destroy'd by Fire, after a certain Period ; Or else be renew'd by perpetual Vicissitudes. To return : I would not have you think that those particles of Earth, or Air, which you have now in your Constitution, are the same with those you brought into the World with you. Don't mistake : Your Body has been made over and over since that time. The *Matter* which now belongs to you is as it were but of yesterday's growth ; tho' you have lived so long in the World, your Carcase is but a young one ; For you have taken it all in at your Mouth but somewhat lately : And therefore when you perceive it wear off you need not be so much troubled at the Loss ; For the Alterations in your Body, don't rob you of the Flesh and Blood you had from your Mother ; but only of some fresher Recruits of no long standing. But suppose you had still the same Body you was Born with ; what would you do with it without the benefit of Change ? without a new supply of
Matter

Matter which must alter the Case, Nourishment and Growth are perfectly impracticable: Besides, Death can't be far off, and then both *New Matter* and *Old*, must take their leave, and be swept to their respective Elements*.

* D^r Acier.

VIII. When you have given your self the Titles of a Man of Modesty, and Good Nature, of Truth, and Prudence, of Resignation, and Magnanimity, take care that your Practice answers up to your Character; And if your Distinctions and your Life Do not agree, if any of these glorious Names are lost in your Mismanagement, recover them as soon as you can. Remembring withal, that Prudence implies Consideration, Care and Comprehensive Enquiry: that to be Unanimous* or Resign'd, signifies a Cheerful Com-

Τὸ σύμμερον.

plyance with the Allotments of Providence. That Magnanimity imports an Elevation of Soul, a Noble contempt of Pleasure and Pain, of Glory and Death; and all those things which People are either fond or afraid of. Now if you can earn the Honour of this Stile, and neither fly out of the compass of the Character, nor yet desire it from other Folks, you'll be quite another Man, and steer a quite different Course from what you do at present. And indeed 'tis high time to begin: For to de-
fire

• By Lions
and other
Beasts of
Prey.

• The Para-
dise of the
Heathens.

fire to go on at this rate, to be polluted with Appetite, and Harraſſed with paſſion any longer, is a ſenceleſs and a ſcandalous wiſh. It reſembles the meanness of thoſe poor Wretches in the Amphitheater, who when they are half devoured, * and have nothing but Wounds left them, beg notwithstanding to be reſpited till the Morrow; tho' they know themſelves only reſerved for the ſame *Teeth* that tore them before. Act up then to theſe few Names of Credit, and work them into the Soul of you. And if you find your Virtue big enough for the practice, ſtand your Ground, and think your ſelf Transported to the *Fortunate Iſlands*. * But if you are overmatch'd, and begin to give way, and perceive your *Station* an Impediment, e'en knock off, and retire where you may manage better. And if this won't do, you may give Life the ſlip; but then let there be nothing of Paſſion, or Hurry in the Manner: Walk gravely and handſomly into the other World; And thus the laſt Action of your Life will be the only one worth the owning. And to remember thoſe good Qualities above mention'd the more effectually, you ſhould conſider that Imitation is the moſt acceptable part of Worſhip, and that the Gods had much rather Mankind ſhould Reſemble, than
Flatter

Flatter them : That Operation is the right Proof of Nature ; That Trees are distinguished by their Fruit, Dogs by the Qualities proper to their Kind ; And thus it holds with Men too, who ought to quit that Name, unless they can answer the Idea, and make out their Claim by their Actions.

IX. Unless you are very careful, this Campaigning, Tempestuous Life you are engaged in, the Liberties of your Court, your own Laziness, and the Flattery of your Subjects, will constantly be doing you Disservice, wear out the Noble Impressions of Philosophy, and make your Study of Nature Insignificant. How then are you to manage upon all Occasions ? In such a manner, as to omit neither Business nor Thinking. To be modest in the Consciousness of your Improvement, but not so far as to undervalue your Knowledge, and keep it out of Sight. When you are thus well-skill'd both in Theory, and Practice, then your Virtues will Regale you, and you'll relish the Advantage of Philosophy. Then you'll be able to understand the Bottom of every Thing ; To pronounce upon its Nature, the Ingredients 'twas made of, and the Weight it has in the World ; To calculate its Continuance, who are likely to be affected with it, and what Powers they are which can both give, and take it away. X.

X. A Spider when she has caught a Fly thinks she has done some great Matter, and so does a Sports-man when he has run down a Hare, and a Fisherman too, when he has overreach'd a Sprat, or a Gudgeon : some others, must kill a Boar, or a Bear, before they can grow conceited ; And a fourth sort value themselves extremely upon their Hunting the *Sarmatian* Moss Troopers : Tho' it may be, in this last Case, if you go to the Definition of Robbing, the one, are as much Thieves as the other.

XI. Sit closely to the Study of *Physicks*, that you may observe the steps, and learn the History of Nature, and trace the Progress of Bodies from one Form and Species to another : Contemplate often upon this Subject, for there's nothing contributes so much to Greatness of Mind, as a thorough Insight into these Matters. * He that's rightly affected with this Speculation, has in a manner laid his Body aside and all that belongs to it. He considers that this World will quickly be over with him, that he must take his leave of Mankind, and remove into an other Condition. In Consequence of these Thoughts, he is all Justice and Resignation. * And as for what People think, or talk of him, or practise against him, he never minds it.

He

* See Book
3. Sect. 11.

* That is to
Providence.

He has but two points to secure, that is, to be Honest in what he does, and contented with what he Receives †. As for † From Fate. other Projects and Fancies, He has done with them. His Business is only to live by Reason, and to follow that Path which Nature has chalk'd out for him, for in so doing he has the Deity for his Guide.

XII. What need you be Anxious about the Event, when you may examine the Enterprize, and debate the Reasonableness of it? If you find it practicable and proper, go on, and let nothing divert you. But if you can't see through it, make a halt, and take the best Advice upon the Case. And if your Measures happen to be broken by some new Emergency, make the most of what is in your Power, and always stick to the point of Honesty: For after all, that is the best Stake in the Hedge: For, tho' the grand Design may not succeed, yet when 'tis fairly undertaken, and well managed, it makes one easy under the Mis-carriage: Reason and Justice are pleasant Companions; and those that keep to them, are always satisfied, and in good Humour.

XIII. When you are first awake you may put this Question; whether another Man's Virtue will signify any thing to the doing your Business? No, unless you help your self, another Man's Mind will no more im-

Z

prove

prove you, than another Man's Mouth will nourish you : This Thought may do you Service in a Morning, and help to make the Day more significant. And now I think on't, don't forget what sort of Men those are which value themselves so much upon the Good or Ill Character, they give their Neighbours ; one would imagine by their bragging they could govern the World with their Tongues, and talk People into what Condition they had a mind to. But then these mighty Men of Satyr, and Panegyrick, how scandalously do they live? How are they overgrown, with Luxury and Lewdness? How foolish are their Fancies, and how unreasonable their Fears? How much Truth do they murder with their prating ; and how often do they steal from an honest Man, to make a Knave look the better? But after all, they have the worst on't, by abusing that Reason which might have serv'd them to so many Excellent Purposes.

* God.

XIV. He that considers that *Nature* * has the Disposal of all Things, will address her in this Language of Respect. *Give me what you please, and take what you please away. I'm contented.* This is the strain of a Man bred to Sobriety, and Good Principles. And tho' the Expression may be extraordinary, there's not the least tincture of Vanity in it,

it, but it proceeds wholly from Obedience, and Satisfaction.

XV. Your time is almost over, therefore live as if you were retired in the Country. *Place* signifies nothing; Virtue and Philosophy, will thrive every where, provided you mind your Business. Never run into a Hole, and shun Company: No, Let the World have the Benefit of a Good Example, and look upon an honest Man; and if they don't like him, let them knock him on the Head; for 'tis much better he were serv'd so, than to live at their rate of Disorder.

XVI. Notion without Practice is Impertinence; spend no more time then, in stating the Qualifications of a Man of Virtue, but endeavour to get them.

XVII. Take the whole Bulk of *Matter*, and all the Extent of *Time* frequently into your Thoughts: And then consider that all particular Bodies are but a Grain in the Proportion of *Substance*, and but the turning of a Wimple in respect of *Time*.

XVIII. Don't suffer the Appearances of Things to dazle your Sight, and deceive you: Examine them closely, and you'll find them ready to decay, and tumble. And that all Things are made as it were to be unmade again.

XIX. Consider what an humble Figure the biggest People make when they are eating, sleeping, and doing the other coarse Work of Nature, to which they are all condemn'd! But then when they are in their Altitudes, in their Pomp, or in their Passion, strutting or mauling their Inferiours; you would take them for another sort of Creatures, and that they fancy themselves more than Mortal Men! And yet how many little Masters did they lately cringe to, how mean was their Service and their Salary; and what a sorry Condition will they come to in a short time *.

* Either by
Misfortune
or Death.

XX. That's best for every Man which God sends him; and the time of his sending too, is always a Circumstance of Advantage.

XXI. The *Earth*, as the Poet has it, * *loves the Refreshment of a Shower, and the Clouds, when they are loaden, love to send it.* And the World loves to execute the Decrees of Fate; and therefore say I to the World, * your Inclinations and mine shall always be the same.

* Eurip.

* Or Providence.

XXII. Either you will take the Benefit of Custom, and keep to your old Course of Life, or you'll step farther into the World, as your Fancy shall lead you, or else Death will give you your *Quietus est*, one of these Cases must happen, therefore be not discouraged.

XXIII.

XXIII. Take it for a Rule, that Philosophy is every where Practicable ; And that there's no such great Matter in Retirement. A Man may be Wise and Sedate in a crowd, as well as in a Desert, and keep the Noise of the World from getting within him : In this Case as *Plato* observes, * the *Walls of* ^{Plato} *a Town, and the Inclosure of a Sheep-fold,* ^{Thæret.} *may be made the same thing.*

XXIV. How does my Mind stand affected ? What Condition is my Understanding in, and to what Uses do I put it ? Does not Thought and Reason run low with me ? Am I not grown selfish, and broken loose from the General Interest ? Is not my Soul as it were melted into my Senses, and perfectly govern'd by them ?

XXV. He that runs away from his Master is a Fugitive ; now the *Law* * is every ^{The Law} ^{of Nature} ^{or God.} Man's Master, and therefore he that Transgresses it is a Desertor. And under this Character we may range all those that are dissatisfied with the Administration of the World ; Angry at what is past, and Uneasy about the Future : For these People were it in their Power would set aside that Justice which gives every one his Due, and break through the Orders of Providence.

XXVI. The Formation of the Fætus, is a great Subject for Contemplation : The first Principles of Life are extremely slender,

der, and Myſterious ; And yet Nature works them up into a ſtrange Increate of Bulk, Diversity, and Proportion. And after the Birth is over, the Infant is ſupported by throwing a little Nouriſhment down the Throat on't. And here the Force and Conduſt of the Operation is extraordinary. For what can be more ſurprizing than to ſee ſuch wonderful Effects from ſo Unpromiſing a Cauſe ? To ſee Growth and Motion, and Strength and Beauty ; all the Functions and Force, and Ornament of the Creature, ſprout out of a little Pap, or Gruel ? Theſe things tho' they are wrought in the Dark, and we can't trace them with our Senſes, no more than we can the Cauſes of *Gravitation* ; For all this, our Underſtandings may reach a great way ; and diſcover the Miracles of Providence tho' not the Manner of their Performance.

XXVII. You'll do well to remember that the World is juſt as it was formerly, and will go on at the ſame rate, when you are Dead and gone. If you either Dip into Hiſtory, or recollect your own Memory, you'll perceive the *Scenes* of Life ſtrangely Uniform, and nothing but the Old *Plays* reviv'd. Take a view of the Courts of *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, of *Philip of Macedon* or *Crefus* ; And you'll find the Grimace, and Entertainment the ſame, only the *Actors* are different,

XXVIII,

XXVIII. He that struggles with his Fortune and makes an Affliction on't, is much like a Hog that Kicks, and Cries out when his Throat is cutting : And he that Mourns privately over himself when he is Sick, is not much better. We should consider that we are tyed to the Chains of Fate, that all Accidents are inevitable, that none but Rational Creatures have the privilege of Moving Freely, and making Necessity a Choice: All other Things are forc'd onward, and Drag'd along to their Doom.

XXIX. Consider the satisfactions of Life singly, and examine them as they come up; And then ask your self, if Death is such a terrible Bugbear in taking them from you*?

* See Book
12. Sect. 31.

XXX. When any Bodies Misbehaviour disturbs you, dismiss the Image of the Injury, and bethink your self whether you have not been guilty of the same Fault: For Instance, whether you have not over-valued Money, or Pleasure, or Fame, or the like. Such Reflexions will quickly make you cool, and come to a Temper; especially if you consider the Offendor was not altogether his own Man, but under the force of some untoward Passion or other: You would do well therefore, if you can, to step into the Rescue, and free him from the Cause of his Disorder.

* The first proper Name throughout this Enumeration, denotes a Philosopher that lived before the Emperour's time, the others, those who were his Contemporaries.

* Vid. Annot. D'Acier.

XXXI. When you consider *Satyrion* the *Socratist*, think upon *Eutyches*, or *Hymen*; * And when you remember *Euphrates*, think upon *Eutychion*, or *Sylvanus*; And when *Alciphron* comes into your Head, carry your Thoughts to *Tropæophorus*; and when you are musing upon *Xenophon*, or *Crito*, let *Severus* come into the Contemplation; And when you make your self the Subject of your Meditations, bring some of the Emperours your Predecessors into your Company; And thus set the Dead and the Living of the same Character, and Profession, always one against another, then ask the Question; where are those Men that made such a Figure formerly? The Answer will be, they are no where, or at least no where that I know of. Thus you'll be strongly convinc'd that Men are but Smoak, and Bubbles; They Vanish as they Rise, and break soon after the Swelling: And this Impression will go the deeper, if you consider that what is once perish'd and Sunk, will never come up again exactly. * As for your share of Time: 'tis but a Moment in Comparison; Why then can't you manage that little Handsomly, and be satisfied? What a Noble opportunity of Improvement do you run away from? For what are all the Revolutions of Nature, and the Accidents of Life, but Tryals of Skill, and Exer-

Exercises of Reason? A wise Man that has look'd through the Causes of Things, makes but a Diversion of them. Go on then, with the Theory and Practice of Philosophy, till you have digested the Subject, and conquered the Difficulty; For I would have you be like a strong Stomach, that masters all sort of Diet, and makes Nourishment of it; Or if you please, like a Fire well kindled, which catches upon every thing you throw in, and turns it into Flame and Brightness.

XXXII. Put it out of the Power of Truth to give you an ill Character; And if any Body reports you not to be an Honest, or a Good Man, let your Practice give him the Lye: This is all very feasible: For pray who can hinder you from being Just, Sincere, and Good Natur'd if you have a mind to it? To make all sure, you should resolve to live no longer than you can live Honestly; For, in earnest, you had much better be nothing, than a Knave.

XXXIII. What is it which is most proper to be said, or done, upon the present Occasion? That Question I confess is pertinent, but let it be what it will, I'm sure 'tis in your power to come up to't; and therefore never pretend it impracticable. You'll never leave Grumbling, and Growl-

Growling till you have brought your Fancy to your Philosophy, till you can practise Virtue with a Gust, and make your Duty your Pleasure: And why you should not do this I can't imagine; For the Practise of Virtue is nothing but Humane Powers naturally set on work; 'Tis only putting the Wheels in the motion they were contriv'd for, and going just as you were Made. Now Nature's postures are always easie, and which is more, nothing but your own Will, can put you out of them. The Motion of a Cylinder may be stopt, Fire and Water may be check'd in their Tendency, and so may any part of the *Elementary, Vegetative, and Animal World*; In this Case a great many Obstructions may interpose. But there's nothing can block up a Soul, stop the Course of Reason, or hinder a Thought from running in the right Channel. He that considers the irresistible Liberty of the mind, that she moves as easily as Fire does upwards, as a Stone downwards, as a Cylinder on a smooth Descent; will trouble his head about nothing farther. For all other Impediments proceed either from the *Body*, which he looks upon rather as a Carcass, than a Companion, or else they are founded in Opinion, and unless we betray our selves, and desert our Rea-

Reason, can do us no manner of Mischief :
 Otherwise, Ill Fortune, as 'tis commonly
 call'd, would make a Body an ill Man :
 For all other Productions of Nature, or
 Art, when any harm happens to them
 they are certainly the worse for't : But
 here a Man is the better for what he suffers,
 He improves his Value, and raises his
 Character, by making a right use of a
 Rugged Accident. In short I would have
 you remember, that no Burgher can re-
 ceive any Damage by that which does not
 Affect his Corporation ; Neither can the
 Community suffer, unless the Laws, by
 which 'tis Govern'd, are broken, and
 suffer too : But these Misfortunes as they
 are call'd, don't violate the Constitution ;
 nor break in upon the *Laws*, therefore they
 don't Damage the *Corporation* ; nor by
 consequence any Member in it*.

XXXIV He that's well Tinctur'd with
 Philosophy needs but a short Receipt : A
 common Cordial will keep up such a Man's
 Spirits, and expel the Cold from his Heart.
 A Verse or two out of *Homer* will serve for
 a Hint, and do his business. Let the Po-
 et speak.

*. By the Ci-
 ty or Corpo-
 ration, the
 Emperour
 means the
 World, and
 by the *Laws*,
 the Order &
 Decrees of
 Providence.
 See Book 5.
 Sect. 22.

*Men are like Leaves in Verdure and Decay,
 As Spring supplies what Autumn blows away,
 So Mortals fade, and flourish in their
 Turns*.*

You ^{* *Hom. II. E.*}

You see how slenderly Humane Felicity is put together, your Children are but *Leaves* upon the Matter, a little blast may take them from you. The freshest Laurels wither apace, and the Ecchoes of Fame are soon silenced; And which has some Comfort, so is Censure and Reproach too. All these Matters like Leaves have their Spring for Growing, then a puff of Wind sends them packing, and quickly after the *Wood* is new furnish'd again. Things are strangely short-liv'd; And yet your Appetites, and Fears Grasp, and Scamper at that rate, as if all was Everlasting. But for all your hast, your Head will be laid in a short time, and then he that is your chief Mourner, will quickly want another for himself.

XXXV. An Eye that's strong and rightly dispos'd, is indifferent to all Colours, therefore if it calls for *Greens*, 'tis a sign 'tis weak and out of order: Thus when the Hearing and Smelling are in a good condition, they don't pick and chuse their Objects, but take in all manner of Scents and Sounds, thus a strong Stomach dispatches all that comes into it, like a Mill that Grinds all sort of Grain. And thus a Mind that's Sound, and Healthy is prepared to Digest all sorts of Accidents; And therefore when 'tis clamorous in such Wish-

es as these, *O that my Children may Live and Flourish, that I may be every Bodies Favourite, and be commended for every thing I doe*: When the Mind I say is thus sickly and untoward, 'tis just like an Eye that's all for Green Colours, and like a set of Teeth that would touch nothing by their Good will, but Flummery, and Pudding.

XXXVI. There's no Body so Happy in his Family and Friends, but that some of them when they see him going, will wish for a good Riddance, and almost keep a Holy Day for his Death: Let him be a Person of never so much Probity and Prudence, do you think some Body or other won't drop some of these Sentences over his Grave. *Well! Our Man of Order and Gravity is gone, we shall now be no more troubled with his Discipline! I can't say he was Innatur'd to any of us: But for all that, I'm sensible he disliked our Management in his Heart.* This is the best Treatment a Good Man must expect. But alas! as for our Conduct, how many Reasons will People muster up to be rid of us? If you consider this when you are dying, you'll quit with the less Reluctance. Say then to your self, 'I am leaving an odd sort of World, where
' the sharers in my Fortune, and the Objects of my Care and Kindness, those People for whom I have drudg'd, and con-
' triv'd,

'triv'd, and wish'd so heartily, count my
'Life no better than a Grievance, and
'would fain be shut of me; Now who
'would be fond of staying in such Compa-
'ny any longer? However, this Thought
must not go so deep as to sour your Hu-
mour. You must keep your Temper, and
part friendly with every Body; but then
your Good Nature must not make you hang
back: For as when a Man has an easy
Death, the Soul slides gently out of the
Body, and takes her leave without Tugg-
ing; so you must walk off handsomely,
and bid the World adieu without Regret.
'Tis true, Nature has twisted your Inte-
rests, and tied you together, but now she
loosens the Knot, and makes the sign to
Disengage. I'll part then with the World
as with my Friends and Relations, but for
all my Kindness I won't be dragg'd from
them: No, Providence would have me
move freely, and therefore I'll do it.

XXXVII. Let it be your constant Me-
thod to look into the Design of Peoples
Actions, and see what they would be at, as
often as 'tis Practicable; And to make this
Custom the more significant, practice it
first upon your self.

XXXVIII. Remember that which pulls
and hales you from one Passion to another,
is no External Force, but your Fancy *with-*
in

in you. There lies the Rhetorick that persuades you ; That's the Live Thing, and to speak plainly, that's the Man, after all. But when you talk of a Man, I would not have you tack Flesh and Blood to the Notion ; nor those Limbs neither which are made out on't : These are but Tools for the Soul to work with, and no more a part of a Man, than an Ax or a Plain, is a piece of a Carpenter : 'Tis true, Nature has glewed them together, and they grow as it were to the Soul, and there's all the Difference. But the use of them depends solely upon the Mind : 'Tis the Will that either checks, or sets them a going. They have but the Force of Instruments, and signify no more without foreign Direction, than a Shuttle, a Pen, or a Whip, which will neither Weave, nor Write, nor Lash the Horses, without some Body to manage them.

B O O K XI.

THE Properties of a Rational Soul are these. She has the Privilege, to look into her own Nature, to cut out her Qualities, and Form her self to what Temper she pleases : She enjoys her Product, (whereas Trees and Cattle, bring Plenty
for

for other Folks.) Whether Life proves long or short, she gains the Ends of Living. Her Business is never maim'd by Interruption, as it happens in a Dance, or a Play : No, she is never surpriz'd, her Performances are struck out at a Heat, and always finished and entire ; So that she may say with Modesty enough, *I have sustain'd no Damages, but carry off all that belongs to me.* Farther, She ranges through the whole World, views its Figure ; looks into the *Vacuum* on the out-side on't, * and stretches on to an unmeasurable length of Time : She contemplates the Grand Revolutions of Nature, and how the *Universe* will be destroy'd, † and renew'd at certain Periods : She considers that there will be nothing *new* for Posterity to gaze at ; And that our Ancestors stood upon the same Level for Observation : That all Ages are Uniform, and of a Colour, in so much that in forty Years time, a tolerable Genius for Sense and Enquiry, may acquaint himself with all that's *past*, and all that's *to come.* Lastly, 'Tis the Property of a Rational Soul, to love her Neighbours, to be remarkable for Truth and Sobriety ; To prefer nothing to her own Dignity and Authority, which is likewise the Custom and Prerogative of a Law ; And thus far the Quality and Measures of right Reason, and publick Justice are the same. II.

* The Stoicks imagin'd that on the out-side of the World there was a *Void* or *Vacuum*, that is Extension, unfurnish'd with Substance or Body.
† By Conflagrations.

II. The way to despise the Pleasure of a fine Song, a well-performed Dance, or the Olympick Exercises, is as follows: As for the Song, take the Musick in pieces, and examine the Notes by themselves, and ask as you go along, *Is it this, or this single sound, that has subdued me?* You'll be ashamed to confess the Conquest, and so get clear of the Charm. Thus, to lessen the Diversion of Dancing, consider every Movement and Gesture, apart. And this Method will hold with Respect to the Olympick Exercises. * In short, All other Entertainments but those of Virtue abate by taking them asunder, and therefore apply the Expedient to all other parts of your Life.

* Boxing,
Running,
Wrestling,
Leaping
and Playing
at Quoits,
&c.

III. What a brave Soul is that, that's always prepar'd to Walk out of the Body, and unconcern'd about her being either extinguish'd, † scatter'd or remov'd? Prepared I say upon Judgment, and not out of mere Obstinacy like the || *Christians*; To recommend the Example, this Fortitude must have nothing of Noise or Ostentation, but be carried on with a Solemn Air of Gravity, and Consideration.

† Into A³
tomes.

|| The true
Bravery of
the Christi-
ans, was
misrep-
resented to
the Empe-
rour.

IV. Have I oblig'd any Body, or done the World any Service? If so, the Action has rewarded me; This Answer will encourage Good Nature, therefore let it always be at Hand.

A a

V.

Once more ;

*Fate Mowes down Life like Corn, this
Mortal falls,
And t'other stands a while *.*

* Eurip.
Hypsipyl.
See Book
7 Sect. 39.
41, 42.

These Instances may suffice, otherwise I might go on with them : Next to *Tragedy*, *Old Comedy* took a turn upon the *Stage* ; And here *Pride* and *Ambition* was lash'd and pointed at, with great *Freedom* and *Authority*, and not without some *Success*. And for this Reason, *Diogenes* sometimes made use of the *Poet's Discipline*. You are now to observe that *Middle Comedy* succeeded to the *Old*, and the *New* to the *Middle* ; This last kind sinking by degrees to the *Buffoonry* of the *Mimi*. 'Tis true, there are some useful Expressions to be met with even here : But then you are to consider the *Tendency* of the whole *Poem*, and what these *Dramatick Diversions* drive at in *General* *.

* 'Tis D'A-
cier's Obser-
vation that
the Emperor
condemns
all sorts of
Plays, tho'
upon the
Comparison
he pretends
the *Old Co-
medy* to the
New ; Be-
cause the
Old made
Instruction,
not Pleasure,
their Princi-
pal Design!

VII. Nothing is clearer to me than that the Principles you go upon † are as good a Foundation for *Philosophy*, and *Improvement*, as are to be met with in any other *Set* whatsoever.

† The Em-
perour's
main Prin-
ciples are
the Love of
God and our
Neighbour.

VIII. A Bough by being lopp'd off from another, must of Necessity be lopp'd from the whole Tree : Thus a Man that breaks with another loses the Benefit of the whole

Community. 'Tis true a Bough is lopp'd off by a Foreign Hand ; But this Moral Amputation is all Voluntary ; 'Tis the Man that pulls himself asunder by his untoward Averſion to his Neighbour : He little thinks by this unhappy Diviſion, how he Diſincorporates himſelf from the *Body* of Mankind ! And here the Goodneſs of God who founded this *Society* is extraordinary. He has put it in our Power to grow to the Limb we left, and come again into the Advantage of the main Body. But if this Miſfortune is often repeated, 'twill be a hard Matter to reſtore the Part, and cloſe the Diviſion. For as Gardiners obſerve, a Bough cut off and Graſſed in again, is not in the ſame good Condition with another which always Flourish'd upon the Trunk ; For, tho' the firſt does not grow out of its Kind, yet it ſuffers ſomewhat in its Figure and Beauty *.

* See Book
5. 8. Book
8. 34.

IX. Never grow ſour upon Peoples Malice, or Impertinence : Can they beat you off your Reason, or ſtop your Progreſs in Virtue ; Not at all. Be not then Diſconcerted, nor check your Good-nature towards them. If you meet with Oppoſition and Ill-will, you muſt neither be Diverted, nor Diſturb'd, but keep your Point, and your Temper too. For as 'tis a Weakneſs to loſe your Spirits, and be thrown off

off your Conduct, so 'tis likewise to be angry with Impertinent People : Upon the whole ; They are both a sort of Deserters from Providence, who are either frighten'd from their Duty, or fall out with those of their own Nature, and Family *.

* See Book
2 Sect. 1.

X. Nature falls short of Art in no Instance ; Art being but an Imitation of Nature ; And if so, the most perfect and best Furnisht, Nature can't be suppos'd to work with less Reach than a common Artificer. Now in all Arts the *Less* in value are contriv'd for the sake of the *Greater* ; This therefore is the method of *General Nature*, or the First Cause : And upon this Ground Justice is founded, which consists in a Regard, and Preference of Things according to their Dignity and Worth. The other Vertues are likewise Govern'd by this Rule, and are but Acts of Justice differently applyed. But Just we can never be, if we are Eager and Anxious about External Advantages, if we are apt to be impos'd on, and grow heedless, and inconstant in our Motion.

XI. Aversions and Desires are the general occasions of Disturbance ; Now since the Objects of these Passions don't press upon you, but 'tis you that make up to them in some measure, whereas they stand

* See Book
5. Sect. 19.
Book 9. 15.

off, and keep their Distance : * your method is therefore, to let your *Opinion* about them lye still ; This suspension of your Judgment, will bring you towards an Indifference. And then you'l neither pursue, nor avoid them any longer.

XII. The Figure of the Soul , as we may call it, is then round and Uniform, when she neither Reaches after any thing Foreign ; nor shrinks in, out of Cowardize and Fear : When her superficies is thus Even, the Light plays better upon her : The prospect of Truth and Nature is enlarg'd ; and she sees the World, and her self to the most Advantage.

XIII. Does any one despise me ? What's that to me ? I'll take care not to give him any Reason for his Contempt. Does any one hate me ? It may be so ; I shan't concern my self about it. And more than that, another Man's Malice shall ne'er spoil my Temper : I'll continue Kind and good Humour'd to all the World, even to the Injurious Person himself. I'm always ready to shew him his Error, without Ruffling, or making a Merit of my own Patience ; But frankly , and with all the Cordial Sincerity imaginable, as * *Phocion* seem'd to behave himself towards the *Athenians* : Indeed your Mind should always be so dispos'd, as to bear the narrowest

* *Phocion* at his Execution charg'd his Son not to bear a Grudge against the *Athenians*, for putting him to Death. *Plut.*

rowest Inspection, that the God's may examine you with Pleasure, and perceive that you are neither Angry, nor Uneasy at any Thing. Now if you follow the Current of your Nature, and do a handsome Action, where's the Harm on't? What are you unwilling to submit to Providence? To comply with the Interest of the *Universe*, when you Know you were made on purpose for't.

XIV. People generally Despise, where they Flatter; And cringe to those they would gladly overtop, so that Truth, and Ceremony, are two Things.

XV. How fulsome, and hollow does that Man look that cries, *I'm resolv'd to deal clearly with you*: Heark you Friend, what need of all this Flourish? Let your Actions speak: To go to the right on't, your Face ought to vouch for you, and your Sincerity be Legible upon your Forehead. I would have Vertue look out of the Eye, no less apparently than Love does: I would have Honesty so incorporated with the Constitution, so mixed up with the Blood and Spirits, that it should be discoverable by the Senses, and as easily distinguish'd as Rankness, or a strong Breath; so that a Man must be forced to find it out whether he would or no. But on the other side, an Affectation of
A a 4 being

being Real, is an untoward pretence : Nothing is more scandalous than false Friendship, and therefore of all things avoid it. In short ; A Man of Integrity and Good-Nature can never be conceal'd, for his Character is wrought into his Countenance.

XVI. To bestow no more upon Objects than they deserve, and where Things are Indifferent to let our Thoughts be so too, is a noble Expedient for Happiness ; The way to come up to this Indifferency, is to look Through Matters, and take them quite asunder : * Remembring always, that Things can't Charge into the Soul, nor force us upon any Opinions about them : They stand Aloof, and are quiet ; 'Tis our Fancy that makes them Operate and Gall us ; 'Tis we that Rate them and give them their Bulk, and Value ; And yet tis in our Power to let it alone ; And if any false Colours are laid on by surprise, we may rub them out if We please : We are likewise to consider that this Trouble won't last, that Death will Relieve us quickly ; where then is the difficulty of standing upon our Guard a little while ? If therefore your Circumstances put you in a way of Improvement, and there's any thing to be made out of them, bid them heartily welcome, and then your Inclination will make you easie ; But if they
prove

* See Sect.

2.

prove unmanageably cross, (which by the way is a wrong Supposition,) Look out for something that's more serviceable to the Dignity of your Nature ; And never let Infamy, or being Unpopular, deter you from the Pursuit. For certainly every Man may take leave to make himself Happy if he can.

XVII. Consider the Original of all Things, the *Matter* they are made of; the Alterations they must run through, and the Qualities consequent upon't; And that all this Instability of Nature has no manner of harm in't.

XVIII. Concerning those that offend, and Disoblige you, consider in the First place, the Relation you stand in towards them, and that you are all made for each other. And as for your own part you are particularly set at the Head of the World ; And like a Ram in a Flock, design'd for Defence and Protection. You may go higher in your Reasoning if you please, and consider that either *Chance*, or *Providence* Governs the *Universe* ; if the latter, then the Coarser parts of the Creation were made for the Service of their Betters ; And these last for the Interest and Support of each other.

Secondly ; consider how wretchedly They mismanage their own Business, and
how

how far they are gone in Luxury, and Libertinism, especially you should remember what strong Prejudices they lye under, how confident they are in their Mistakes, and with what satisfaction they play the Fool.

Thirdly ; Consider that if those that disoblige you, are in the Right, you have no reason to be Angry ; But if they are in the wrong, 'tis because they know no better. They are under the Necessity of their own Ignorance. For as all Error is involuntary ; so no body would lessen themselves so much as to miss either Honesty, or Good Manners, if they were rightly aware on't. And thus we see People won't endure the Charge of Avarice, Ingratitude, or Knavery, without being stung at the Imputation.

Fourthly ; Don't forget you are like the rest of the World, and Faulty your self in a great many Instances ; That tho' you may forbear running Riot in some Cases, 'tis not for want of an Inclination : And that nothing but Cowardize, Vanity, or some such scandalous Principle, hinders you from breaking out.

Fifthly, That 'tis sometimes a hard matter to be certain whether you have received ill usage or not : For Men's Actions oftentimes look worse than they are : And
one

one must be thoroughly inform'd of a great many things before he can be rightly qualified to give Judgment in the Case.

Sixthly, When you are most Angry and Gall'd, remember that Humane Life lasts but a Moment, and that we shall all of us very quickly, be laid in our Graves.

Seventhly, Consider that 'tis not other Peoples Actions, (for they are lodg'd at Home, and are neither Good, nor Bad to any but those that do them,) which disturb us, but only our own Opinions about them. Do but then dismiss these Notions, and don't fancy the Thing a Grievance, and your Passion will cease immediately. But how can this Fancy be Discharg'd? By considering that bare suffering, has nothing of Infamy or Scandal in't. Now unless you restrain the Notion of *Evil* to what is Scandalous and Dishonest, your own Vertue will grow precarious, and you'll be under a Necessity of doing a great many unwarrantable Things *.

* See Book
9. 1.

Eighthly, Consider that our Anger and Impatience often proves much more Mischievous, than the Provocation could possibly have done.

Ninthly, That Gentleness and Good Humour are invincible, provided they are of the right Stamp, without any thing of Hypocrisy, or Grimace. This is the way to Disarm

Disarm the most Barbarous, and Savage : A constancy in Obliging Behaviour, will make the most Outragious Person asham'd of his Malice : The worst Body imaginable can't find in his Heart to do you any Mischief, if you continue kind and unmov'd under ill Usage, if you strike in with the right opportunity for Advice; If when he is going to do you an ill Turn, you endeavour to recover his Understanding, and retrieve his Temper in such gentle Language as this. *Prithee Child be quiet, Men were never made to worry one another ; In earnest if you go on, my dear Friend, you'll have the worst on't ; As for my part, I'm proof against every Thing, but my own Folly.* Then Proceed to illustrate the Point and let your Arguments be General and Inoffensive : Shew him that Brutes are upon better Terms than this comes to ; That 'tis not the custom of Bees to spend their Stings upon their own kind, nor of one Herd of Cattle to draw up against another. And let all this be done out of stark Love and Kindness, without any thing of Bantering or Biting : You must likewise stand clear of Vanity in your address ; Don't seem to flourish upon the Subject, as if you were declaiming in the *Schools*, and Courting the Audience for Commendation : If there is any Company, ne'er set your self off to them ;

them : But Discourse him with as little Straining and Affectation, as if there was no body but himself.

Lay up these Nine Heads in your Memory with as much Care as if they were a Present from the Nine *Muses* : for now 'tis high time to begin to be a Man for your Life time. And here you must take care to Guard against Flattery, as well as Anger ; For these are both unserviceable Qualities, and do a great deal of Mischief in the World. And for a farther preservative against the latter, remember that Frowardness and Rage are Marks of an Unmanly Disposition. Mildness and Temper are not only more Humane, but more Masculine too : One thus Affected appears much more brave, and firm, and better fortified, than he that's fuming, and out of sorts. For impassibility is an argument of Greatness ; And he that has the least Feeling in these Cases, has always the most strength : On the other hand, as Grief is a sign of Weakness, so is Anger too ; A Man is wounded in both these Passions, and the smart is too big for him.

As you have received these Nine Precepts from the *Muses*, take this Tenth if you please, from their President and Instructor *Apollo* : That to wish all People may not do ill Things is to wish an impossibility,

sibility, and no better than a piece of Distraction. But then to give them leave to plague other Folks, and desire to be privileged your self, is a Foolish and a Haughty expectation.

XIX. There are four ill Qualities we must be particularly careful to avoid *, and pull them up as fast as we find them grow in our Heads : and undertake them as they rise in this fashion. This fancy (say) is Groundless and Unnecessary : This rough behaviour makes *Society*, and Correspondence impracticable : This t'other is but a Copy of your Countenance ; you can't say it from your heart * ; Now this is a very bad Character. There's Three of them : And whatever you are conscious degrades the Diviner part of you, makes your Mind Truckle to your Body, and your Reason to your Pleasures, look upon that as the Fourth.

* D'acier
supposes the
Emperour
means Sus-
piciousness,
ill Lan-
guage, Ly-
ing and In-
temperance.

* See Book
2. 16.

XX. Those Particles of Fire and Air which are lodg'd in your Body, notwithstanding their Tendency to Mount, submit to the Laws of the *Universe*, stick close to your Constitution, and keep the rest of the *Elements* Company. Again, the Earthly, and Watry Part in you, tho' they naturally press downwards, are raised above their Level, and stand pois'd in a Foreign Region : Thus the *Elements* serve the Interest

terest of the *World*. And tho' they seem to stand bent and uneasy, they keep their Post, till the Signal is given to march off and separate. And is it not then a scandalous business that your Mind should be the only *Deserter* and grow Mutinous about her Station? Especially when her Orders agree with her Constitution, and nothing that's unnatural is enjoyn'd? And yet she won't bear the Conduct of her own Faculties, but runs perfectly Counter to Humanity. For when a Man turns Knave, or Libertine, when he gives way to Fears and Fits of the Spleen, he does as it were run away from himself, and Desert his own Nature: And farther, when his Mind complains of his Fortune, he quits the Station in which *Providence* has placed him. For Acquiescence, and Piety are no less his Duty, and his Talent too, than Honesty between Man and Man: For these Virtues carry up to the common Interest, and are rather of greater Antiquity, and Value, than Fair Dealing it self.*

* Piety the
Foundation
of Justice.

XXI. He that does not always drive at the same *End*, will never be Uniform, and of a peice in his Conduct. But this Hint is too short, unless you describe the Quality of this Design, and what it is that we ought principally to Aim at. Now as People don't agree in the Preferences of Choice,
and

and the Notion of Advantage unless in what relates to the *Common Good*, so a Man ought to propose the Benefit of Society and the general Interest of the World, as his main business. For he that Levels at this Mark, will keep an even Hand, and be always consistent with himself.

XXII. Remember the Story of the Country and City Mouse, and how pitifully the former was frightned and surpriz'd. *

* This hint I suppose was design'd to shew the danger of Curiosity, and Appetite.

XXIII. *Socrates* us'd to say, the Common Objects of Terror, were nothing but Bugbears, fit only to scare Crows and Children.

XXIV. The *Lacedemonians* at their *Publick Shews*, seated *Strangers* under a Canopy in the Shade, but made their own People Shift, and take their Convenience as they found it. *

* 'Twas the Custom of the *Lacedemonians* to breed their People hardily.

* *Seneca* reports this invitation was made by *Archelaus* King of *Macedon*.

XXV. *Socrates* being invited to *Perdiccas's* Court, * made this Excuse, I dare not come says he for fear of being put under an incapacity of returning an Obligation; which I take to be the worst way of destroying a Man imaginable.

XXVI. 'Tis a Precept of the *Epicurean* Philosophers, that we should look back to the Virtue of former Ages; And always furnish our Memory with some Eminent Example.

XXVII. The *Pythagoreans* would have us look up into the Sky every Morning :
To

To put us in mind of the Order, and Constancy of the Heavenly Bodies, of the Equality and Perpetuity of their Motion, of the fineness and Purity of their Matter, and how frankly they lye open to Observation; for a Star never wears a Mask, nor puts any Cloaths on.

XXVIII. Remember how unconcern'dly *Socrates* wore a Sheep-skin; when *Xantippe** had got his Coat on, and run out with it. And how handsomly he Laugh'd off the Matter to his Friends, who were strangely out of Countenance by seeing him in such a Disguise. * His Wife.

XXIX. People don't pretend to teach others to Write, and Read, till they have been taught themselves: This Rule holds stronger in the Niceties, and Importance of Life; in which no Man is fit to Govern, till he has first Learn'd to Obey.

XXX. *Be Dumb, Slaves han't the Privilege of speaking.**

XXXI. *I smiled within my self.*

XXXII. *They'l treat their Parents with Rebellious Language.*

XXXIII. He is a Mad-man that expects Figs on the Trees in Winter; And he is little better that calls for his Children again, when they are Dead and Buried.

XXXIV. *Epicætus* would have a Man when he is Kissing, and Caressing his Child, say to himself at the same time;

B b

To

* A Tragick Poet quoted by *Philo de Libert.* viri boni Hom. Odyss. * *Hesiod.* Oper. Lib. i. v. 184. The fables of Poetry seem to be set down by the Emperor as Hints for farther Meditation, *Gataky*

To morrow perhaps this pretty thing may Dye and leave me. These are four Ominous Reflections you'll say. That's your mistake : The consequences of Mortality, and the Course of Nature, are no Ominous things to think on, otherwise it would be an ominous business to cut down a little Grass, or Corn.

XXXV. Grapes are first sour, then ripe, then Raisins, these are all no more than bare Alterations; not into Nothing, but into something which does not appear, and come up at present.

XXXVI. As *Epictetus* observes, No body can rob another of his *Will*, nor by consequence make seizure of his *Virtue*.

XXXVII. The same Philosopher has Taught us the Art of Managing our *Affect* and preventing our Reason from being impos'd on ; That we should Enterprize with a reserve for Disappointment ; that our Inclinations should be Generous and Benevolent, and proportion'd to the Merit and Dignity of Things : that we must keep our Desires from being Headstrong and Unruly in all Cases ; And never have an Aversion for any Thing, which 'tis out of our power to hinder.

• The *Stoicks* reckon'd all People Mad-men that did not live up to the Precepts of Virtue, and Philosophy.

XXXVIII. Therefore as *Epictetus* observes, the contest is no Trifle, but whether we are to live in our Wits, or out of them. *

XXXIX.

XXXIX. 'Tis a saying of *Socrates* to some untoward People ; ' what would you be at ? Would you have the Soul of a Man, or of a Beast in you ? Of a Man without all doubt : Of what sort of Men, of those that use their Reason, or those that abuse it ? Of the First, you may be sure. Why then continues the Philosopher, don't you look out for this Privilege ? Because we have it already. What makes you then Disagree, and fall foul upon each other ?

B O O K XII.

ALL those Things you Drudge, and Range so much Ground for, you may have at your Ease, unless you are afraid of making yourself too Happy. Your Method to do your business, is not to concern your self about the time *Past*, for that is never to be recover'd ; To rest the *Future* with *Providence* ; And only stick to the *Present*, and improve that to all the Noble purposes of Piety and Justice. The Pious part will be discharg'd by being contented with your Fate ; And why should you not, since *Nature* made you for each other ? * And as to the Obligations of *Justice*, you'll acquit your self here, provided you speak Truth boldly, and a-

* See Book
5. Sect. 8.

bove board, and make Law, and the Dignity of Things, your Rule to Act by. When you are not to be check'd in your Progress, by the Misbehaviour, the Ignorance, and Impertinent Reports of other People, nor yet by the Sence and Sufferings of your own Carcass. Tho' by the way, 'tis a question whether it suffers or not. * To go on ; If, since your Life is almost up, you lay aside all other Matters, and only Cultivate your Mind, and pay a Regard to the Governing, and Diviner part of your self : If you are not at all afraid of losing your Life, but of Missing the Ends on't, and not Living as you should do ; Then you'll act suitably to your Extraction, and deserve to have the Deity for your Maker : Then you'll be no longer a stranger in your own Country, nor be surpriz'd at common Accidents ; you'll ne'er be anxious about the *Future*, nor stand to the Courtesy of Events.

* See Book
7. Sect. 16,
68.

II. The Almighty sees through the Soul of every Man as clearly, as if it was not wrapt up in *Matter*, or had any thing of the Shrow'd and Coarsness of Body about it. And God being a Spirit, Acts only as such, and concerns himself for no other Beings but those of his own Nature. Now if you would learn to do thus, a great deal of Trouble would be sav'd : For he that can overlook his Limbs, and
make

make his Carcass sit loose about him, will hardly disturb himself about the House he dwells in ; about his Equipage or Reputation ; or any part of the Furniture, and Magnificence of a Figure.

III. You consist of three Parts, your Body, your Breath, * and your Mind : The two * See Book 2. Sect 2. first are yours to take care of, but the latter is properly your Person. Therefore if you abstract from the Notion of your *self*, that is of your Mind, whatever other People either say, or do, or whatever you may have said or done your self formerly, together with all that which disturbs you under the consideration of its coming to pass hereafter ; If you throw the necessary Motions of your Carcass out of the Definition, and those of the *Vortex* that whirls about you ; And by this means preserve your Rational Faculties in an Independent state of Innocence, free from Force and Infection ; Holding close, and steady to the Virtues of Justice ; Truth, and Acquiescence ; If I say, you keep your Mind seporate, and Distinguish'd, from the Objects, of Appetite, and the Appendages of time, both *Past* and *Future*, and make your self like *Empedocles's* World,

*Round as a Ball, and Spinning on your Axis.** * Turning upon your Reason.

And concern your self to live no longer than your Life time, that is the *present Moment* ; * If you do all this, you may Move * See Book 2. 14. on till Death stops you, with Credit and Satisfaction,

IV. I have often wonder'd how it comes to pass, that every Body should love themselves best, and yet value their Neighbours Opinion about themselves, more than their own. Therefore if any God, or Eminent Instructor in Philosophy, should stand at a Man's Elbow, and Order him to turn his inside outwards, and publish every Thought and Fancy, as fast as they came into his Head, he'd think it a hard Chapter, and not submit so much as to a Days Discipline. Thus we stand more in awe of Fame, than Conscience, and regard other Peoples Judgments above our own!

V. How comes it about that since the God's have contriv'd all things so well, and so much to the benefit of Mankind, they should overlook this particular: And suffer Men of great Virtue and Merit, who by their Piety and Devotion were as it were the Domesticks of the Powers Above; and kept always a Correspondence with Heaven, that they should suffer such Men, I say, to be finally extinguish'd by Death, and not give them their Being again? Now if the Case stands thus, you may be assur'd had it been proper, the Gods would have ordered it otherwise: For had it been Reasonable, it would have been possible: Nature * would certainly have brought it forth, if it had been suitable to her Perfections. Therefore from its not being Matter of Fact,

Fact, if indeed it is not, you may undoubtedly conclude, it ought not to be so: For don't you perceive that in Reasoning this point, you dispute the Administration of *Providence*: Now if the Justice and Goodness of the Gods were not extraordinary, this Liberty would not be allow'd; Neither would you presume so far if you thought otherwise. But if they have these Perfections, they'll never neglect their Affairs, nor Blemish their World with any thing that's Unreasonable, or Unjust.

VI. Accustom your self to Master things of the greatest difficulty, and which you seem to despair of; For if you observe, the Left-hand, tho' for want of Practice, 'tis insignificant to other Business, yet it holds the Bridle better than the Right, because it has been used to it.

VII. Consider what Death will make of you, both as to Body, and Mind: Recollect the shortness of Life, the Unmeasurable extent of Time both *Past* and *Future*; and how slenderly all things are put together.

VIII. Let it be your Method to contemplate Spirits, apart from their Bodies, for these are no better than the Shell they are shut up in: Mind the Aim, and the End of Peoples Actions: Examine the value of Fame, the Force of Pain, the Ascendant of Pleasure, * and see what Death amounts to: Consider upon what account a Man grows

* See Book
7. 33. Book

* See Book
9. 26.

troublesome to himself, * that no Body can be hinder'd by Another: And that Opinion is the Main Thing, which does good or harm in the World.

IX. We must manage the Precepts of Philosophy like those that Wrestle, and Box in the *Circus*, and not like a *Gladiator*: For your *Fencer* if he drops his Sword, is Hewn down immediately; But the other that makes Weapons of his Limbs, has them always about him, and has nothing to do but to keep his Hands and Feet stirring.

X. Be not satisfied with a superficial View, but penetrate the Nature and Quality of Things; And to this purpose you must divide them into *Matter* and *Form* *, and enquire into the End they were made for.

* See Book
2. Sect. 12
Book 4. 21.
Book 7. 29.

XI. What a mighty privilege is a Man born to, since 'tis in his power not to do any thing but what God Almighty approves, and to be satisfied with all the Distributions of *Providence*.

XII. When things follow from the Course, and Constitution of Nature, we ought not to murmur at it: Not against the Gods, for they have neither Ill-will nor Impotence, and by consequence can do nothing Amis; nor yet against Men, for their Misbehaviour is all involuntary *, therefore we must complain of no Body.

* See Book
7. Sect. 63.
64.

XIII. How unacquainted is that Man with the World, and how ridiculous does he

he appear, that makes a wonder of any thing he meets with here?

XIV. Either the Order of Things are fixt by irrevocable Fate, or *Providence* may be work'd into Compassion, or else the World Flotes at Random without any Steerage. Now if Nature lies under an immovable Necessity, to what purpose should you struggle against it? If the favour of *Providence* is to be gain'd, qualifie your self for the Divine Assistance: But if Chance, and Confusion carry it, and no body sits at the Helm; be you contented and Ride out the Storm patiently, for you have a Governour within you, * tho' the World has none: • Your Reason.
And if the Waves run too high, let them roll off your Carkass, and your Fortune, but there's no Necessity your Mind should be driven with them.

XV. A Lamp unless you put it out, holds its Light, and shines without interruption: And can you find in your heart to see your Honesty sink in the Socket, to out-last your Sobriety, and let your Virtue be extinguish'd before you?

XVI. When you fancy any one has Transgress'd, say this to your self. How do I know 'tis a Fault? And granting it is, it may be his Conscience has corrected him. And if so, he has given himself a four Box on the Ear: Besides, you are to remember, that to wish an ill Man should not do Amiss,

Amis, is just as wise as it would be to desire an unripe Fig should not taste of the Tree; that Children should not squall in the Cradle, nor Horses Neigh, nor a great many other Things Act according to the necessity of their Condition. Pray, how would you have a Man of such an unfortunate Disposition behave himself? If you believe the Case may be remedied, and are such a Doctor at his Disease, do so much as cure him.

XVII. If 'tis not Decent never do it, if 'tis not true, never speak it; let this always be your Rule.

XVIII. Look always nicely into whatever makes an Impression upon your Mind; Distinguish it into *Matter* and *Form*, find out the purpose and design for which it was contriv'd, and the period of Time too, beyond which 'tis unlikely to continue.

XIX. Consider, for 'tis high time, that you have something more Divine in you than the *Mechanism* of Passion, than the Wires and Tackling of a Poppet. What then is my Soul made of? Is it Fear, or Jealousie? or Lust? Or any thing of this Coarse Nature? Certainly no.

XX. Take Care never to do any thing without Thought, and Design, nor for any other End neither but what may be serviceable to the Interest of *Society* *.

* That is of Mankind in general.

XXI. Consider that in a little time you'll nei-

neither have Place, nor Being, that your Contemporaries will have the same Fate, and the present Scene of Nature be shut up: For all things change of Course, and With-
ther, and drop in pieces, that new ones may be made out of them.

XXII. Thoughts are in a great Measure Masters of Things, and which is more, 'tis in your own Power to think as you please: Therefore don't suffer *Opinion*, to cheat you any longer. Disengage from the Tyranny of Fancy; and then as if you doubled some dangerous *Cape*, you'll have nothing but a steady Course, a smooth Sea, and a Land-lock'd Bay to receive you.

XXIII. Every Operation that ceases in due time, suffers nothing by breaking off: Neither does the Agent receive any harm upon this Score. Thus Life, which is nothing but a Series, and Continuation, of Action, comes to no Damages, by having a seasonable Period put to it: Neither does he that lays this Motion asleep, sustain any Loss, provided 'tis done at a proper Juncture. Now Nature assigns the Term, and sets out the Bounds of Life; sometimes this Period is fix'd by particular Nature, or force of Constitution, as it happens when a Man dies of Old Age; but let it come late, or early, *Common Nature* * has ^{God.} certainly a Hand in't. And thus the Parts of Nature changing from one Form to another;

† See Book
4. Sect. 23.
Book 5.
Sect. 8.

ther, preserve the World in perpetual Youth, and Vigour. Now that is always as it should be, both as to Time, and Quality, which makes for the Service of the *Universe*. † From hence it follows that bare Dying can be no real Evil, seeing there's nothing of Baseness or Moral Turpitude in't: For 'tis both Involuntary with respect to our selves, and serviceable to the general Interest. Therefore there can be nothing of Scandal in it. Nay, 'tis certainly a Good Thing, since 'tis suitable, and seasonable for the *Universe*. And thus a Man that goes off smoothly, is as it were carried out of the World by Inspiration: For he that follows the Deity with his Motions, and with his Will too, seems actuated by a Divine Impression.

XXIV. Let these three Hints lie ready for Service. First, As to your own Actions, let nothing be done rashly, nor to no Purpose, nor indeed in any other manner than *Justice* her self would have order'd it: And as for Casualties, and the State of your Fortune; consider that they are the blind Distributions of *Chance*, or else the Appointment of *Providence*. Now either to murmur against *Chance*, or Impeach *Providence*, is extremely absurd. Secondly, consider what a slight thing Man is from his Conception, to his Birth or Animation*; And from his first Breath to his last; in the Parts of his Composition,

* The Stoicks believ'd a Humane *Fœtus* not Animated till the time of Birth. *Tertull. de Anim.*

position, and in the State of his Dissolution. Thirdly, Consider, that if you could shoot your self at Pleasure into the Sky, and thence take a View of Humane Affairs, you would perceive a strange medly of Humour, and Condition : And discover at the same time, the Air, and *Æther* too, plentifully stock'd with Inhabitants, † And that if you mounted never so often, you'd have the old Prospect; Alas ! Things are generally of the same Complexion, and of the same short Continuance too, and yet how strangely we are Conceited of them.

XXV. Discharge *Opinion*, * and you are safe ; And pray who can hinder you from doing it ?

XXVI. When you are uneasy upon any Account, you seem to forget that all Things fall out according to the Good Pleasure of *Providence*, and that another Man's Fault, is no Concern of yours ; that what you reckon Grievances, is nothing but the Old Way of the World, and will come over again, when you are dead, and gone, and are *now* to be met with in a thousand Places : You have forgotten that all Mankind are of Kin ; for tho' they may be unallied in Flesh and Blood, their *Understandings* are all of the same Family ; You don't remember that every Man's Soul is a Portion of the Deity, and deriv'd from thence ; that we have nothing properly our own, but that our Children,

† 'Twas the Opinion of the Platonists and Stoicks, that the Air, and Sky was inhabited by Spirits, suitable to the respective Regions.

* *Opinion* is a Common, but false Notion of Things.

Children, our Bodies, and our Breath, are all borrow'd from Heaven, that *Opinion* governs all, and things are only as you think them; and that 'tis not possible for any Body to live, or lose, any more than the *Present* Moment. All this you seem to have forgotten.

XXVII. Reflect frequently upon those that have formerly been mightily disturb'd with Accidents of any kind, that have carried their Animosities, and Feuds to the most flaming Excess; that have made the most Glorious Figure, or met with the greatest Misfortune; and then ask your self, *where are they all now?* They are vanish'd like a little Smoak; they're shrunk within the compass of an *Urn*, and are nothing but *Ashes*, and *Romance*, * and it may be have not so much as the last imaginary Advantage neither. Recollect likewise, all that Humour, and Odness, that some People affect, to appear as *Fabius Catullinus* did at his Country Seat, as *Lucius Lupus*, and *Sertinius* did at *Baie*, to Act the Fancy of *Vertius Rufus*, or the Liberties of *Tiberius* at *Caprea*; thus People dote upon Figure, and Singularity, tho' 'tis sometimes in Lewdness *: But granting 'tis somewhat better, the Prize is insignificant, and the Play not worth the Candle: 'Tis much more becoming a Philosopher to stand clear of Affectation; to be Honest, and Regular upon all occasions, and to follow chearfully where-ever the
Gods

* See Book
8. Sect. 25.

* That of *Tiberius* was
such.

Gods lead on : As for Pretence, and Hypocrisy, 'tis all Stuff ; For nothing is more Scandalous than a Man that is Proud of his Humility.

XXVIII. To those that ask me the reason of my being so earnest in Religious Worship ; did I ever see any of the Gods ? Or which way am I convinc'd of the certainty of their Existence ? In the first place, I answer, that the Gods are not Invisible :

* But granting they were, the Objection would signify nothing ; For I never had a sight of my own Soul, and yet I have a great value for't ; because 'tis discoverable by its Operations. And thus by my constant Experience of the Power of the Gods, I have a Proof of their Being, and a reason for my Veneration.

* The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, were Gods in the Opinion of the Stoicks.

XXIX. The best Provision for a happy Life, is to dissect every Thing, view it on all Sides, and Divide it into *Matter* and *Form*. To practise Honesty in good earnest, and speak Truth from the very Soul of you : And when you have done this, live easy and chearful ; And crowd one Good Action so close to another, that there may not be the least Empty, or Insignificant space between them.

XXX. The Light of the Sun is but one and the same, tho' 'tis divided by the Interposition of Walls, and Mountains, and Abundance of other Opacity Bodies. There's but

but one *common Matter* for *Corporiety*, tho' 'tis parcell'd out among Bodies of different Qualities : There is but one *sensitive Soul* neither, notwithstanding it has peculiar Conveyances, runs in innumerable Channels, and supplies a vast number of Animals distinct from each other. And lastly, the *Rational Soul* tho' it seems to be split into Distinction, is but one and the same *. Now excepting this last, the Parts of the other Species of *Form* † and *Matter*, tho' without Apprehension, or any common Affection to tie them to each other, are yet upheld by an *Intelligent Being*, and by that Faculty which pushes things of the same Nature, to the same Place : But Humane Understandings have a peculiar Disposition to Correspondence ; they stick together by Inclination, and nothing can extinguish such Sociable Thoughts in them.

* The Stoicks held the Rational Soul a part of the Deity.
† By *Form*, in Rational Creatures, the Emperor seems to mean the Mind, in Animals, the Sensitive Soul, in Vegetables, and Inanimate Things the Principle of Union which supports them in their Distinction, and racks their Beinging together. *Dacier.*

XXXI. What is it you hanker after. Is it bare Existence ? Or Sensation ? Or Motion ? Or Strength, that you may lose it again in Decay ? What ? Is it the Privilege of Speech, or the Power of Thinking in general ? Is any of this Furniture big enough for Desire ? If all these Things are Trifles upon the Matter, proceed to something that's worth your while ; and that is to be govern'd by Reason and the Deity. And yet you can't be said to value these last mention'd Privileges rightly neither, if you are disturb'd
be-

because Death must take them from * you. * See Book 9. Sect. 1.

XXXII. What a small part of unmeasurable Time, falls to the share of a single Mortal, and how soon is every one swallow'd up in Eternity? what a handful of the *Universal Matter* goes to the making a Humane Body, and what a very little of the *Universal Soul* too, * to raise it into an Animal? And on what a narrow Clod with respect to the whole Earth, do you crawl upon? Consider all this, and reckon nothing Great, unless it be to *Act* in Conformity to your own Reason, and to *suffer* as the Almighty shall appoint you. Book 10. Sect. 28.

The Emperour means the Sensitive or Vital Soul as the *Stoicks* call'd it.]

XXXIII. The great Business of a Man, is to improve his Mind, and govern his Manners; this is minding the main Chance. As for all other Projects, and Pursuits, whether in our Power to compass or not, they are no better than Trifling, and Amusement.

XXXIV. We can't have a more lively and promising Notion, to set us above the fear of Death; than to consider that it has been despis'd even by that Sect, * who made Pleasure, and Pain, the Standard of Good, and Evil. * The Epicureans.

XXXV. He that likes no Time so well as that fixt by *Providence*, he that's indifferent whether he has room for a long Progress in Reason, and Regularity or † not, or whether he has a few or a great many

† See Book 11. Sect. 1.

Cc

Years

Years to view the World in ; a Person thus qualified will never be afraid of dying.

• The
World.

XXXVI. Hearn ye Friend ; you have been a Burgher of this *Great* City* ; what's matter tho' you have lived in't but a few Years ; if you have observ'd the Laws of the *Corporation*, the length or shortness of the Time, makes no difference. Where's the Hardship then, if *Providence* that plant-ed you here, orders your Removal ? You can't say you are sent off by a Tyrannical, and Unrighteous Sentence ; No, you quit the Stage as fairly as a *Player* does that has his Discharge from the *Master of the Revels* : But I have only gone through three *Acts*, and not held out to the End of the *Fifth*. You say well ; but in Life three *Acts* make the *Play* entire. He that appoints the Entertainment is the best Judge of the length on't ; and as he order'd the opening of the first *Scene*, so now he gives the sign for shutting up the last : You are neither accountable for one or t'other : Therefore retire in good Humour, for He by whom you are dismiss'd means you no harm.

*The End of the Twelve Books of the
Emperour ANTONINUS.*

T H E

THE
 Mythological Picture
 OF
C E B E S
 THE
THEBAN.

Being a serviceable Emblem for the
 acquiring of Prudence, and the
 Direction of Human Life.

AS we were taking a Turn in *Saturn's*
 Temple, we saw a great many con-
 secrated *Presents*, remarkable enough for
 their Curiosity; amongst the rest we took
 particular Notice of a Picture hung over
 the Door; the Piece we perceiv'd was all
 Emblem, and Mythology; But then the
 Representation was so singular and out of
 Custom, that we were perfectly at a Loss
 whence it should come, and what was the
 meaning on't. Upon a strict View, we
 found 'twas neither a City, nor a Camp,
 but a sort of Court, with two Partitions
 of the same Figure within it, tho' one of

them was larger than the other. The first Court had a crowd of People at the Gate, and within we saw a great Company of Women. Just at the entrance of the first Gate, there stood an Old Man, who by his Gesture and Countenance seem'd to be busy in giving Advice to the Crowd as they came in.

And being a long time at a stand about the Design of the *Fable*, a grave Man somewhat in Years, making up, begins to discourse us in this Manner. Gentlemen, *says he*, I understand you are Strangers, and therefore 'tis no wonder the History of this picture should puzzle you : For there are not many of our own Countrymen that can explain it. For you are to observe, this is none of our Town Manufacture. But a long while ago, a certain out-landish Man of great Sense and Learning, and who by his Discourse and Behaviour seem'd to be a Disciple of *Pythagoras*, and *Parmenides* ; This Gentleman, *I say*, happening to Travel hither, built this Structure, and Dedicated both the Temple and this piece of Painting to *Saturn*. Sir, *said I*, had you any Acquaintance with this Gentleman ? Yes, *says he*, I had the Benefit of his Conversation ; and was one of his Admirers a long time. For, to my thinking, tho' he was but young, he
talk'd

talk'd at a strange significant rate ; And as for this *Picture*, I have heard him expound the *Emblem*, and read upon the Argument very frequently. Sir, *said I*, unless you are very busy, I beg of you to instruct us a little in this Matter, for we are strangely desirous to know the meaning of this Fable in *Colours*. Gentlemen, *says he*, I'm very ready to serve you, but then I must tell you there is some Danger in hearing the Story. Danger ! As how ? Why, *says he*, if you mind what you are about, and understand what's deliver'd, you'll grow unexpectedly Wise and Happy upon the Discourse ; but otherwise to be free with you, you'll turn Ignorant, and Ill-natur'd, and be the most unfortunate Blockheads imaginable. For the Explaining this *Mythology* is as touchy a Business to the Audience, as the *Sphinx's* Riddle was formerly : If a Man was an *Oedipus* at it, he found his Account in the Undertaking, but if the Mystery prov'd too hard for him, he was lost, and murther'd by the Monster upon the spot. The Consequence of the present Case is much the same : For Folly is a sort of *Sphinx* to Mankind in general ; and gives an obscure Intimation of what's good and bad, or indifferent for us : If a Man can't look through her, and untie her Riddle, tho'

she does not chop him up at a Mouthful like the *Sphinx* ; yet she will be sure to dispatch him by Degrees, fit as close to him as a Consumption, and ride him as the Spleen does a Malefactor under Sentence. But on the other hand, when *Folly* is understood, then she goes to pot herself ; and the Man is made safe, and happy for his Life-time. Therefore pray take care, and be attentive, and let nothing slip your Observation. In earnest if the Matter stands thus, you make us almost Wild to hear you upon this extraordinary Subject. 'Tis just as I tell you. Well, *said I*, if we are likely to smart at this rate for being careless, you'll be sure to find us upon our Guard, and therefore begin as soon as you please.

Upon this, pointing to the Picture with his Cane, do you see this Inclosure, or Court, *says he* ? Yes. This then you are to understand is Life, and the Place for Mortals to range in. The Crowd at the Gate, are the People that are just coming into the World : And the Old Man that stands by on rais'd Ground, with a *Paper* in one Hand, and the other in a Posture of Direction, is the common *Genius*. This superintending Spirit instructs those that enter, how they are to manage themselves in *Life*, and which Road they
are

are to take, if they expect to come safe to the end of their Journey. And pray, *said I*, which way does he direct them, and how are they to govern themselves? Don't you see, *says he*, there by the Gate where the Crowd goes in, a woman sitting in an Arm'd-chair handsomely dress'd, and with a Mien of Quality? I see her with a Glass in her Hand; pray who is she? That's *Imposture*, *says he*, that bubbles the whole World in some measure out of their understandings. Say you so? Which way does she go to Work? She opens a Vein, and gives them a Glass of her Constitution. What sort of Drink is that? 'Tis Ignorance and Mistake. What is to be done then? Why, when they have taken this Stirrup Cup, they Travel into *Life*. What? Does every body take their Mornings Draught of this Liquor? Every body, but not all Brimmers; some drink more, and some less. To inform you farther, don't you see, a parcel of *Wenches* within the Gate, different enough in their Persons, but all of them with the bold Air of their Profession? I see them. Very well: If you would know their Names then, they are *Opinion*, *Passion*, and *Pleasure*. As the Crowd enters, these Lasses frisk about them, and salute them with a great deal of welcome, and then lug them

off. And whither do they carry them? Carry them! Some to good Fortune, and some, by mistaking their way, to Ruin, and the Gallows. In earnest, Sir, *said I*, if the Case stands thus, 'tis dangerous Drinking! You say well: And yet all these Women promise to direct them right, and to make them as Considerable and Happy as they would wish. But the poor Wretches having taken a Glass too much with *Imposture*, are so muddy-headed, that they over-look their Advantage, and mistake their Ground, and ramble about at that senseless giddy rate as you see. And look you, continues he, how those Gypsies manage the People that came in first, and lead them whither they have a mind to. I perceive it, *said I*, but pray what blind distracted Woman is that which stands there upon a round Stone like a Globe? That's *Fortune*, replies my Instructor, who is not only Blind, but Mad, and Deaf into the bargain. And what may her Business be I beseech you? She ranges every where, *says he*, snatches away this Man's Circumstances, and gives them to another; and in a little while recalling her Liberalities, bestows them upon new Favourites, and all with great Arbitrariness, and Inconstancy. And therefore her Pedestal, and her Posture, is a good Emblem

blem of her Nature. How so? Because *says he*, her standing upon a Globe shews her Feet not well fix'd, and that there's no depending upon her Bounty. Indeed those that reckon upon her are generally ruffled with Disappointment, and mightily shock'd in their Expectation. Here I desir'd to know, what was the Business of all that Crowd about her, and who they were? I was answer'd, they were a Clan of unthinking People; and all of them making their Application to Fortune for those things she threw away. Very well: But how comes it to pass that they appear so differently Affected in their Countenances, that some of them are all in an Extasy, and others as much out of sorts, and wringing their Hands in Despair? Those, *says he*, who seem so merry and well pleas'd, have receiv'd a Spill, and sped in their Addresses to this Lady; and therefore they call her *Good Fortune*: But the others who weep and wring their Hands are Disseiz'd by her of what she had granted them before, and here her Title is *Bad-fortune*. What sort of Favour does she bestow then, that makes her command the Temper, and dispose of the Passions of her Admirers, in so Sovereign a manner? To answer you, *says he*, her Bounty consists of such Things as
are

are generally esteem'd great Advantages What are those? They are Wealth, Fame, Birth, Children, Posts of Command, Crowns, &c. 'Tis very well! And are not all these good Things with a Witness? As to that, *says he*, we'll debate it afterwards, but at present let's go on with our *Story*. With all my heart. Do you see then, continues the Gentleman, how the Passage through this Gate, leads you into another Court upon an Ascent, and that there are several Women dress'd like Wenches, standing at the Portal? I see them. I must tell you then, their Quality is very Coarse, two of them are *Lewdness* and *Luxury*, and the other *Flattery*, and *Covetousness*. And what do they stand staring here for? To Spy out those to whom *Fortune* has been any thing kind. And what then? Then they appear mightily transported, make up to them with great Endearingness, and ply them strongly with Compliment and Flattery: They invite them to their Apartments, promise to settle them in Satisfaction, and that without the least Intermiſſion, or Incumbrance whatſoever. Now those who are gain'd to Libertinism with this Courtship, think themselves in a delicate way, and are Strangely pleased with their Choice at first. But after some time
when

when they begin to recollect, they perceive the Entertainment was nothing but a Visionary Cheat ; and instead of a Regale, they have been prey'd upon, and ill used. Now when Men come to this pass, and have spent all that *Fortune* had furnish'd them with, they are forced to go to Service to these *Women* ; and here all manner of Affronts, and scandalous Practices must be digested : They must bear with every thing, and boggle at nothing : They must Cheat, or betray their Trust, pick a Pocket, or rob a Church, as occasion serves. And when all these Tricks fail them, they are sent to the House of Correction. And how are they handled ? Don't you see, *says he*, a little Door opening into a narrow, dark place ? I do ; and several ugly, slut-tish Women in Rags, are the Inhabitants. You are right. And to describe them to you ; she with the Whip in her Hand, is call'd *Discipline*, she with her Head bending down to her Knees is *Grief*, she that tears her Hair is *Pain* : But pray, *said I*, what ill-look'd Skeleton of a Fellow is that, with ne'er a Tatter to his Limbs, and that Woman too by him, that's Beauty enough to be his Sister ? You have guess'd the Relation exactly, and to satisfy your Question, the Man
is

is *complaining Sorrow*, and that Sister of his is *Despair*. To this Company the *Rakes* above-mention'd are sent, where they are maul'd and mortified sufficiently, and after they have gone through their Exercise in this *Bridewell*, they are committed to Goal, where *Unhappiness* is their *Keeper*: And here they are fast for their Lifetime, unless they happen to light upon *Repentance*: If *Fortune* sends this Lady to any one of them, she disengages him from his Confinement, and gives him a new set of *Notions*, and *Desires*, which puts him in the Road to *True Knowledge*; However, the Direction is not so Infallible, but that 'tis possible for him to miss the way, and make a Visit to *pretended Learning*. And what follows? Why, *says he*, if he Travels right, and comes to the Seat of *True Knowledge*, she does his Business effectually: she purges his Head, and cures his Spleen, and makes him Easy, and Prosperous as long as he lives: But if he mistakes the Road, *pretended Learning* picks him up, and leads him a new Dance. O strange! *said I*, here's another great Risque to be run: But I beg of you what sort of Mortal is this *pretended Learning*? Don't you see, replies my Instructor, that farther Court? Yes very plainly. And don't you perceive a Woman

man in the Porch genteelly dress'd, and with an Air of Sobriety? That I do: To inform you then, the Generality are so ignorant as to mistake this Gentlewoman for *Learning*; whereas she is really but a Counterfeit of that Quality. Now those who are upon the Road to Recovery and *True Knowledge*, commonly bait with her first. And is there no other way to *True Knowledge* but this? Yes, there is. Here I put in again, and ask'd him, who are those Men that walk within the Court there? These, *says he*, are the Admirers of *pretended Learning*, only they mistake the Person of their Mistress, and fancy themselves in the Conversation of *True Knowledge*. Pray who are they? Here's a great many sorts of them, *says he*, here are Poets, Orators, and Logicians; Musick-Masters, Accomptants, Mathematicians, and Astrologers; Epicureans, Peripateticks, Philologers, &c. But under favour, methinks I see some Women like *Debauchery*, and the rest of her Companions which you shew'd me before, pray who are they? The very same. What? Do they walk in this Inner Court? As sure as you live, sometimes, tho' not so often as in the first. And does Fancy, and uncertain Opinion take a Turn here too? Most undoubtedly, *says he*. And which is more, these

these Sparks being not recover'd of the Dose, which *Imposture* gave them, they are troubled with the Company of *Ignorance*, and *Folly*. Neither will they ever be rid of *Opinion* and the rest of the Gang, till they part with *pretended Learning*, enter into a Course of Physick, and Purge off all their Conceit, Ignorance, and Ill-Humours. Then their Condition will be secure. But as long as *pretended Learning* has the Ascendant over them, they'll ne'er be disentangled; neither will all their Notions, and Proficiency, ever cure them of any of the Distempers above-mention'd. Say you so. Which is the way then, that leads to the seat of *True Knowledge*? If you mind, *says he*, you'll perceive an Eminence at a distance, which looks as if 'twas perfectly uninhabited. I have it. And don't you see a little Gate, and the Avenues to it very much unfrequented; for indeed the Ascent to it is troublesome, and the way rough, and rocky? I perceive it, *said I*. Does it not then appear a lofty Hill, with a very narrow way to't, and Precipices on each side? Yes, the Prospect is just as you say. This is the Road to *True Knowledge*, *says he*, and on my Word, a very rugged one to look on. But let's proceed. Don't you observe two half-lusty Women stand on the Top of the Ascent,

cent, and stretching out their Hands with a great deal of Inclination? I see them, who are they? they are Sisters, *says he*, one of them is *Temperance*, and t'other *Patience*. Good Women both, but what makes them sprawl their Hands out with so much Fancy? 'Tis to encourage Travellers, *says he*, and keep them from Cowardize and Despair: Letting them know at the same time, that if they will but hold out, and strive a little, they'll quickly be easy, and come into a good Road. Well! But when they come to the steep Ascent, how do they get up, for I can't perceive any way made for them? These Women, *says he*, step down a little, stoop for them, and so hale them up. Then their Guides order them to rest a little, and soon after furnish them with Strength, and Spirits, promise to convey them to *True Knowledge*, give them a Prospect of their Journey, and shew them how smooth, and pleasant, and free from all manner of Inconvenience, the Road is. Really, *said I*, it appears so to me. Don't you see, continues my Instructor, on this side that Grove there, a lovely Meadow, which looks so surprizingly bright, as if it had a whole Sun of its own to make it Beautiful. You need not question my Eye sight, *said I*, where such an Object as that is, lies

lies before it. And don't you see another Pile of Building in the middle of this Field? I do, what do you call it, and who does it belong to? This is the Seat of the Fortunate, *said he*, here all the Moral Virtues keep their Court, and Happiness, is always in their Train. Say you so? This must needs be a delicate Place then. Right. But to carry you farther: Don't you perceive a handsome, middle aged, Matronly Woman by the Gate in a plain Dress? And if you observe her, she stands upon a square Stone, and not tottering upon a Globe; there are likewise two young Women on each side of her, which look as if they were her Daughters. Yes, *said I*, by their Features and Complexion, one would think so. To expound them to you then, the Matron in the middle, is *Knowledge*, or *Learning*; the two others are one of them *Truth*, and the other *Persuasion*? But what makes the Elder Lady stand upon a Stone like a Die? To shew the steadiness of her Posture, that People may know where to have her, and that her Favours are safe and significant. Well explain'd, but pray what does she present People with? Why, *says he*, she gives them Assurance, and the faculty of fearing nothing. And how do these Qualities operate? They give

give the owners the Satisfaction to know they are out of Danger as long as they live. In earnest, said I, this Lady has an excellent Hand at making Presents! But what makes her stand without the Gate? To cure those that come hither, and give them her Cephalick Prescription; and when the Potion has cleans'd their Constitution, she brings them in, and presents them to the Virtues. How is this? I don't rightly understand you. I'll clear it to you, says he, 'tis just as when a Patient dangerously ill, is undertaken by a Physician: In the first place the Doctor endeavours to remove the Cause and discharge the Morbifick Matter; and when this is done, strength returns of Course, and the Man is set up. But if he won't take his Physick, and be govern'd, 'tis no wonder if he dies of the Distemper. I apprehend you, Sir, said I. Thus, says he, when any one is brought to Learning and Philosophy, she falls to Doctring of him presently, gives him a purging Dose out of her own *Dispensatory*, that all the ill Humours may be carry'd off in the first place. And what are those? They are Ignorance and Error, which *Imposture* drench'd him with; they are Pride, Appetite, and Intemperance, Anger, and Avarice; and the rest of that

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Unfortunate Entertainment which he swallow'd in the first Court. And when he's well wash'd *within*, whither does she send him? Then he is permitted to enter this last Court, and introduced to *Science*, and the other Virtues. And what may they be? Don't you see within the Gate, *says he*, a Company of handsome, modest Women, without any thing of Dressing, *Washes*, or Expenditure about them? I see them, *said I*, who are they? The first, *says he*, is Knowledge, the other, who are her Sisters, are Fortitude, and Justice, and Probity, Sobriety, Modesty, Liberality, and Good-Nature. In earnest, *said I*, fine Ladies all! Now methinks, my Expectations begin to rise considerably. If you mind what you hear, *says he*, and digest it into Practice, your hopes are not ill founded. I'll do my best, take my Word for't. Do so, and then you'll succeed, and be safe. But pray, *said I*, whither do these Ladies lead the Man? To their Mother, *says he*; And, who is she? They call her Felicity. Felicity! And what is her Business and Quality? Do you see, *says he*, the Path that leads us to the Mount there, where the Structure looks like a Fort for the Security of all the Courts? Yes. And is there not in the Porch a handsome young Lady sitting

sitting in a Chair of State, dress'd like Quality, but not to any degree of Magot, or Curiosity. But, if you mind her, the Crown upon her head, is particularly fine, both in the Matter, and the Making. Truly, it seems to be just as you say. This Lady, *says he*, is *Felicity*. And when any body comes hither, what's her Business? She Crowns him, *says he*, from her own Cabinet, and so do all the *Virtues* too, insomuch that by his Reception, you would take him for some great Conquerour; and that he had gone through *Hercules's twelve Labours* at least. And has he done any thing like it? Yes indeed, he has got the better of several Wild Beasts of an extraordinary Bulk; These were formerly his Masters, made him their Drudge, snap'd a Collop sometimes out of his Carcass, and used him at a miserable rate. But now he has fought himself into Liberty, and Conquest, has them all at Command, and chains them up for Sight and Service. You awaken my Curiosity extremely, pray what sort of Wild Beasts are they? In the first place, *says he*, Ignorance and Mistake; now whether you know it or not, these are great Beasts, and dangerous ones too, tho' they don't go it may be upon all four. Truly, *said I*, I think they are. The o-

ther parts of his Conquest, *continues he*, are Grief and Pain; Covetousness, and Intemperance, and all the whole Force of Vice besides. These are noble Exploits, *said I*, the *Olympick Games* can shew nothing like it; But I suppose this Champion's Crown is not altogether for Ornament, therefore pray tell me the Advantage in wearing it. You are to know then, young Gentlemen, *says he*, that it has a mighty satisfying Quality: He that has this Crown upon his Head, is possesst of Happines; And which is more, 'tis of his own Growth too, without any Dependance upon his Neighbours. In earnest, 'tis glorious conquering at this rate. But how does the Man spend his time, and whither does he go, after he is thus Crown'd? The *Virtues*, *says he*, receive him, and conduct him back to the Place where he was before, and here they shew him at what a rate of Scandal and Misery People live. How often they run their Heads against a Post, ramble from their Interest, and are led as it were in Triumph by their Enemies. Some are made Prize of by Debauchery, some by Arrogance and Ambition, and some by Covetousness, &c. Neither is it in their power, to disengage themselves and make their Escape hither. But they continue

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Rolling and Restless till they tumble into their Graves ; And all this happens because they can't pick out the right way, for alas ! They have forgotten the Advice the *Genius* gave them. What you say is not unlikely ; But still I'm at a loss why the *Virtues* should lead this happy Man to the Place from whence he came ? 'Tis to inform his Judgment, *says he*, and make him understand the World better. For to deal clearly, *Error* and *Ignorance* had abused him before. And thus his Understanding, being misty and misled, he was wildred in the Qualities of Things, and mistook the Nature of Good and Evil. So that, in short, he was in a great measure, as irregular, and unhappy as the rest. But now having gain'd a right Notion of Interest and Advantage, he sees farther into the Follies and Misery of other Men. Right, and when he has seen all this, how does he dispose of himself ? Just as he pleases. For let him go where he will, he is as safe as a Ship in a Harbour : and all People will be as glad of his Company as a *Patient* is of the Visit of an able Doctor. What, won't he be afraid of those scurvy Women any more, which you said were like Bears in a Bear-garden ? Not at all. He'll never be disturb'd with *Pain* nor *Poverty*, with In-

temperance, or Avarice, nor any of that hostile Clan which made him uneasy before. For he'll be perfectly Impregnable against all manner of Attacks. And as no other Serpent dares venture upon those who are bitten by a Viper, because they are fortified by a superiour Poyson which is now turn'd to an Antidote: So this Man has always his Preservative about him. What you say, seems very reasonable. But pray tell me who those are that come down the Hill; some of them with Crowns on their Heads, and Satisfaction in their Face: Others are the Picture of Despair, look somewhat maim'd and batter'd, and seem under the Guard of a parcel of Women? Those crown'd, *says he*, are safe arriv'd at the seat of *Philosophy*, and appear pleas'd with the Conversation of that Lady. But those who have no sign of Success upon their Heads, are some of them turn'd back by *Philosophy* for being unqualified: Others miscarry for want of Industry and Spirit. And when they have strain'd up to *Patience* quit the Advantage of the Progress, and Ramble without Path, or Direction. I understand you. But, what Women are those at the Heels of them? They represent, *says he*, Grief and Pain, Despair, Ignominy, and Ignorance. Say you so. Then

Then the Men are in very bad Company. You're right. Now when these People come back to the first Court and return to *Luxury* and *Lewdness*, they make an odd Report of the Adventure, and blame *Philosophy*, and not themselves for their Mis-carriage; They tell you that all who went upon these Discoveries, are wretchedly harrass'd, and disappointed. And never enjoy any of the Satisfaction which are to be met with at home. What Advantages are these? Why, in a Word, debauching and regaling their Palates: For Gourmandizing, and the Liberties of a Brute are in their Esteem the Supreme Satisfaction. They must take their Fancy, but under favour, who are those pleasant smiling Women that come from yonder place? They call them *Opinions*, says he, their Business is to introduce those to *Instruction*, who are upon the Road to the *Virtues*, and when they have convey'd them hither, they return to fetch more: And to encourage new Comers, they let them understand how happy those People are that took the Journey before them. Have these Women admittance to the *Virtues*? By no means; *Opinion* is never allow'd to appear in the Presence of *Science*; However, they deliver up their Charge to *Learning* or *Instruction*. And

when they have done, go back for fresh Company : Just like your Merchant Men, which when they are unladen, set sail again, and are freighted with another Cargo. Without Flattery, *said I*, you seem to explain these Matters very well : But you have not told me what Directions the *Genius*, or superintending Spirit, gives those who are just marching into Life. He bids them be bold, *says he*, and keep up their Spirits ; and pray do you so, for I shall let you into the whole Business, and make no Omissions in the Relation. And here holding out his Cane again, do you see that blind Woman, *says he*, standing upon a Globe, who I told you was *Fortune* ? Yes, we see her. The *Genius*, *continues he*, warns every body never to trust this Woman, nor to reckon any thing their own, or of any long continuance, that comes from her. For the Grants of *Fortune* are always made with a Power of Revocation ; And a Man that holds of her is a meer Tenant at Will, and may be turn'd out the next Day for ought he knows to the contrary. *Resumptions* are very common with this Lady, and there's no depending upon her Favour ; And therefore the *Genius* advises People to be loose and indifferent with her, and neither be transported when she

she gives, nor dejected when she takes away. For she never acts upon Reason, but throws out every thing at Peradventure. Therefore the Rule is never to be surpriz'd at any of her Proceedings; Nor behave our selves like some unreasonable Bankers, who when there's Mony lodg'd in their Hands, are pleas'd with receiving it, and look upon it as their own: But when 'tis drawn out again, they are as much out of humour, as if they had some real injury done them: Never remembering they are but Casheers; and that they were trusted with the Sum, upon condition of repaying it upon demand. These things the Directing Spirit orders People to observe, with reference to *Fortune*, whose Custom it is to take away what she has bestow'd, and soon after, to restore thrice as much; And it may be in a little time she will turn short again, carry off her last Bounty, and a great deal more into the bargain. Upon these Considerations, the *Genius* enjoyns them to receive what they can of her, and make off with it forthwith in quest of a more lasting Liberality: And where is this to be had? *Learning*, replies the Gentleman, will present them, provided they can get safe to her. Present them with what? With the Knowledge of what
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is really useful, and significant ; now this is a Favour that will stick by them, and there's no fear of its being recall'd ; And therefore the *Genius* bids them press forward for this Advantage as fast as they can : And when they come up to those Women, which I told you were call'd *Pleasure* and *Intemperance*, they are order'd to pass on, without making the least stop, or acquaintance, till they reach *Pretended-Learning* ; and here they are to stay sometime till she has furnish'd them with Conveniencies for their Journey ; and then to set forward to *true Learning* or *Philosophy*, with all Expedition. These are the Directions of the *Genius*, which whosoever either neglects, or mistakes, is lost and undone to all intents and purposes. Thus, Gentlemen, the Mythology of the *Picture* is explain'd to you. And if you have any thing to ask farther about the Argument. you are heartily welcome. Sir, said I, since you give us this freedom, pray what is it the *Genius* orders People to receive of *Pretended Learning* ? Some things that may be of Service to them if they please. What are those ? *Letters*, says he, and Scholarship, which being a handsome Amusement, are as *Plato* observes, a sort of Restraint upon young People, and keep them sometimes

times from flying out into Extravagance. Is there then a Necessity of touching upon this Coast in order to the arriving at *true Learning*? Not at all: They are useful indeed in some Respects, but as to the Point of Probity, they signify little. Do you say then they signify nothing towards Virtue, and moral Improvement? I say a Man may be good without them, and yet they are not altogether Useless. To illustrate the Matter. Tho' we may understand a Foreigner well enough by an *Interpreter*, yet it may not be amiss to learn the Language our selves. Thus you see we may go on without the Advantages of Education. What then don't Mathematicians and other Scholars, stand fairer for degrees in Honesty, than other People? I can't see which way, *says he*, since they mistake the Nature of Good and Evil, and are as much govern'd by their Vices as the rest of the World. For, to speak freely, a Man may have abundance of fine Notions in his Head, and run through all the *Sciences* as they call them, and yet love Wine and Women, and Money, a great deal too much. In short, he may be admirably furnish'd this way, and yet be a Fop, a Knave, or a Traitor, if he has not a care: I'm sorry to say there are not a few Men of *Letters* ly-

lyable to this Imputation. And since the Case stands thus, what Advantage have they in reference to *Virtue* above others? Truly not much, as you have represented the Matter. But under favour what's the Reason then these Gentlemen are lodg'd in the *Second Court*, for by their Apartments they seem to be next Neighbours to *true Knowledge*? And what of all that, *says he*? Don't you see several pass immediately from *Debauchery* to *true Knowledge*, from the first Court, to the third, without making a Visit to these Gentlemen of Education? And in what, then, does their Privilege consist? In earnest, I think they are either more lazy or more untoward than the rest, in Learning the Lesson they should do. How so, *said I*? Because, *says he*, those in the *Second Court* pretend to know more than they really do: Now their being thus conceited in their Ignorance, makes them more sluggish in their Advances to *true Knowledge* than otherwise they would be. Besides, don't you observe that *Opinion*, and *Uncertainty* are perpetually trudging to them out of the *First Court*? So that in fine they are not a jot better than other Mortals, unless *Repentance* calls in at their Lodgings and they grow fully convinc'd that 'tis only *Sham-Learning* which they have

have been all this while amus'd with ; And that unless they mend their Manners, and their Company, 'tis impossible for them not to Miscarry. And therefore Gentlemen, *says he*, I hope you'll remember this Discourse, comply with the Directions, and Practise them up to a Habit ; Indeed all other Business is but trifling to this ; But you must frequently recollect your Memory, and take Pains with your selves, otherwise what you have heard will do you no Service. We shall endeavour to take your Advice. But I desire you would explain your self a little upon the Notion of *Advantage*, and how the Common Liberalities of *Fortune* can be said not to be *Good* ; such as Life, Health, Riches, Fame, Posterity, Victory, &c. And how the contrary to these can be maintain'd not to be *Evil* ? To assert this I must needs say, is all Riddle and Paradox to me. To satisfy you, *says he*, I shall ask you a few Questions, and pray speak your Mind freely in your Answer. I shall do it. What do you think then in case a Man lives ill, is Life any Advantage to him ? No truly, *said I*, 'tis rather a Disadvantage. Very Well, *says he*, then bare living, without other Considerations, is no Privilege : 'tis a Good Thing to those that live well, but

a Misfortune to others. Under favour do you affirm that Life is Advantage, and Disadvantage too? I do. Pray, *said I*, have a care of an Absurdity; For 'tis impossible the same Thing should be both Good and Bad; At this rate it would be Profitable, and Prejudicial, and the Object of Choice and Aversion, at the same time. That is Absurdity enough, *says he*, in all Conscience: But pray, if living Ill is a mischief to him that's guilty on't does it follow from hence, that Life precisely taken has any harm in't? Indeed, I can't say both these Cases are the same. Why then Life is no bad Business, if it were, those who live well, would lie under the Misfortune, for they live no less than other People. Truly, you seem to argue reasonably enough. Therefore, *says he*, since Life is common both to Good and Bad People, it must be Indifferent of it self, and the Use must determine the Quality. 'Tis much like Lancing and Burning, the Season and the Application; makes the Distinction; If a Man be well, it does him a Mischief, but an Ulcer, or an Imposthume, is much the better for a skilful Hand. To put another Question to you, had you rather live scandalously, or Die bravely? I had rather Die upon those terms. You answer

swer like a Man; From hence it follows that Death is no Evil, because 'tis sometimes more Eligible than Living. You are right. The same Reasoning, *continues my Instructor*, will hold with reference to Health and Diseases; For the former is sometimes a Misfortune to a Man, and as Circumstances may happen, he had much better have been sick in his Bed. I can't deny what you say. Let us go on then, *says he*, and examine the Case of *Riches*; And here a very little Reasoning will serve the Turn: For Matter of Fact when 'tis frequent and visible, needs no Proof: Now, nothing is more common than to see Wealthy People live Scandalously and Miserably. Ay, that's but too true. Then Riches does them no service in order to Virtue, and Happiness. It seems so, otherwise they would manage better. Well then, 'tis Precept, and Principles, not an Estate, which makes Men good for something. Indeed I think so. Which way then, *says he*, can *Wealth* be a real Advantage, if it can't improve the Owners, nor contribute to the making them better Men? I can't tell. By your Concession, an Estate must be a Disadvantage to those who know not how to use it. Yes, without all doubt. How then can that be absolutely a good Thing, when a Man is sometimes
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the better for being without it. From hence it follows that a Person that has Honesty and Discretion to his Fortune, may make something on't ; But unless he is thus qualified, he is only furnish'd with Edge-Tools to cut his Fingers. To conclude, the overrating these Things is that which disorders Humane Life, and ruins the World ; For when People fancy they can't be happy without such Circumstances, they'll boggle at no Wickedness to come at them ; And all this Mischief is occasion'd, for want of a right Notion of what is *really Good*.

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